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Children, Adolescents, and the Child Labour Debates in Bolivia

Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, y los Debates Trabajo Infantil de Bolivia



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Abstract

The debate as to whether children should be involved in work or not is contentious. Bolivia provides a unique context to study such debates. Not only does Bolivia have a high proportion of children who work, but it also has a very politically active movement of organised working children. In 2014, much to the dissatisfaction of the ILO and other actors, Bolivia became the first country to explicitly lower the legal working age to 10 years old, contravening international standards.

This thesis aims to analyse child labour debates in Bolivia by including children's and adolescents' perspectives on work. Children's voices are often excluded from such debates. Theoretically, this research is grounded in three main, yet interrelated bodies of literature: childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights. Childhood studies literature is frequently used when researching children who work; the concepts of children's citizenship and children's rights are less often applied to frame such analysis. The thesis argues that the intersection of these conceptual areas is essential to understanding children's work and relevant debates, given the ways that children themselves currently understand and articulate their work.

The thesis engages with the main actors in the Bolivian debates using a number of qualitative methods. Interviews were conducted with members of children's organisations, the Bolivian Government, the ILO, Bolivian NGOs and other actors. A sentence completion task was also conducted with schoolchildren. Document analysis of relevant texts supplemented these methods.

The thesis finds that children express a range of perspectives on working, which are important to consider in both policy and academic debates. These perspectives reveal that children articulate their positions in these debates through discourses of citizenship – specifically rights and responsibilities – as well as through their intersecting relationships with family and education. Considering these perspectives allows us to move beyond existing 'child labour' assumptions and debates, and actually attend to the views and aspirations of children.

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List of Acronyms

Italic = Spanish/Español

ACN – Andean Community of Nations

CCT – Conditional cash transfer (programme)

CSO – Civil Society Organisation

DEA - Drug Enforcement Administration

ILO – International Labour Organisation (*OIT - Organización Internacional del Trabajo*)

IPEC - International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

Law 548 – *Ley. 548 Código Niña, Niño y Adolescente*/Code for Children and Adolescents

MOLACNATs - *Movimiento Latinoamericano y del Caribe de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes Trabajadores*/Latin American and Caribbean Movement of Working Boys, Girls and Adolescents

NGO – Non Governmental Organisation

NNATs - *Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajaordes*/Working Boys, Girls and Adolescents

SAP – Structural adjustment programme

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN – United Nations

UNCRC – United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

UNATsBO - *Union de Niños y Niñas Trabajadores de Bolivia*/ Union of Child Workers in Bolivia

Introduction

Whether children should be involved in work or not is contentious for a number of reasons. First, what constitutes work and how do we define it? Should all work engaged in by children be considered child labour and harmful to the child, or is at least some work meaningful and something that children can learn from? Second, who qualifies as a child? Do we define childhood by age or by competency, through responsibilities or societal expectations? Third, should children spend their childhoods working, or should this period be dedicated towards activities like schooling and play? Related to this, and to how we define children, is how do we define childhood, both across academia and policy? Finally, the context of that work needs to be taken into consideration. Is work a cultural expectation or practice, or do economic pressures and situations of poverty force families to rely on children working? It is these quandaries that this thesis will address, in the context of Bolivia, where these debates are exemplified perfectly.

Often cited as one of the poorest countries in South America,¹ not only does Bolivia have a high proportion of children who work - around 28% of 5-17 year olds (Fontana and Grugel, 2015) - but it also has a very politically active movement of working children organised into unions. These unions, commonly referred to as NNATs (*Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores*/Working Boys, Girls and Adolescents), have campaigned for the right to work for a number of years, a campaign that culminated in influencing a change to Bolivian policy in 2014: Law 548.²

Bolivia thus, for a time, was the only country to explicitly permit children to work from the age of 10 years old (with certain stipulations). This had been making international headlines since the new law was passed in 2014, and came under strong scrutiny from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), as it is well below their recommended minimum age of 15.³ The decrease in the minimum working age was also implemented at a time when Bolivia's South American neighbours Ecuador, Colombia and Argentina were either raising the age limit or pursuing ILO policies to remove children from the

¹ There are many measures of poor country status, often measured through GDP. Most recent figures (2017) cite Bolivia as 8th out of 12 South American countries by GDP (CIA World Factbook, 2017). If HDI is taken into consideration, Bolivia is ranked lowest out of South American countries (where data exists) (UNDP, 2017).

² Officially known as *Ley 548 Código Niño, Niña y Adolescentes*.

³ This is actually set at 14 for 'less developed' countries such as Bolivia, so long as they commit to raising it to 15. There is further elaboration on this in Chapter One.

workforce (Fontana and Grugel, 2017; Fontana and Grugel, 2015). That scrutiny however became too much pressure for the Bolivian Government, and in December 2018, they withdrew many provisions of the law.

Law 548 was the first law in the world to have come into existence with a decisive input from children (Liebel, 2015). Rather than a blanket ban on children working below the age of 15 (which would follow common child labour standards), it allowed all children to work from the age of 12 (at which point they are referred to as adolescents, not children). Children from the age of 10 may have worked, so long as they received authorisation from Commissioners for Children's Rights (*Defensorías de la Niñez y Adolescencia* – henceforth known as *Las Defensorías*). These commissioners, also referred to as an ombudsman service, are responsible for the protection of children's rights. However, the implementation of this law and functionality of the ombudsman service has been questioned, because of financial and structural constraints. The failure of these commissioners was cited as one of the reasons the Government backtracked on the law (Liebel, 2019). Harmful types of work were still banned by the law, such as anything forced or of an exploitative nature, which fits in line with ILO's Convention 182 on banning the worst forms of child labour. Since December 2018, when fundamental changes were made to the code after international pressure from the ILO and the USA, all legal protections for working children under the age of 14 were removed, equating to a ban on work for these children (Liebel, 2019).⁴ These revisions, much to their disappointment, were done without the consent of working children (ibid).

On an international scale, child labour discourse has evolved from one of agreement around its abolition, towards a 'fiercely debated area of international regulation' (Holzscheiter, 2016, p.217). There are a number of involved actors, including intergovernmental organisations such as the UN (of which the ILO is an agency), international NGOs and CSOs, which polarise around conflicting global child labour norms (Dahlén, 2007). These norms, briefly, contest whether children are vulnerable and thus are to be protected (including from work) which is bound up with expectations that childhood should be dedicated to play and education, or whether children are capable of exercising their agency and thus their work should be recognised and protected, and can

⁴ Despite being a significant amendment, and effectively negating much of what Law 548 was remarkable for, this law, its uniqueness and the debates it produced constitute a corner stone of this thesis and continue to be valid areas of research and dialogue.

form a valuable part of childhood. The former is commonly referred to as a normal childhood, or considered a minority world childhood; the latter an other childhood, or considered a majority world childhood.⁵

Child labour in scholarly work has been analysed through many different lenses and methods, to examine the phenomenon in a multitude of ways. It is argued as a social or cultural construction, giving it multiple definitions that differ between cultural ideas, actors, histories and contexts (Ennew et al, 2005). In short, there are a plethora of multi-disciplinary studies due to its multi-faceted nature. Most recently, and of concern to this thesis, is how some scholars have begun to look at the positive aspects of children working, in response to the negative connotations that child labour has, and extended their understanding of child labour to cover many different types of work and activities. Among these are scholars such as Bourdillon et al (2010) who argue for a more holistic approach to researching children's work, and Morrow (2010) who argue that there should be a recognition of the value and contribution that working children make.

In the context of these debates, this thesis is grounded in three main, yet interrelated bodies of literature: childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights. These provide the theoretical and conceptual background for this research. All three – childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights – share many key concepts and ways of understanding. Whilst the broader social study of childhood is arguably a more common theoretical background when looking at children who work, children's citizenship and children's rights are increasingly being considered. Using citizenship and rights theory is imperative, given the ways that children are now understanding and articulating their work through the framework of rights. Given the uniqueness of the situation of working children in Bolivia, some of whom have been involved in the law-making process, these literatures are crucial to consider.

Contemporary childhood studies, largely through the latest paradigm shift – commonly referred to as the new sociology of childhood - recognises childhood as a socially constructed phenomenon. Scholars within this body insist that childhood as a social construction varies with time and place and between social groups, societies and historical periods (James and Prout, 2003). Childhood studies also makes claims for an epistemological difference from previous sociological work, in that children are studied

⁵ This thesis draws upon multiple binaries of childhood, which are examined in Chapter Two.

as social actors and beings in their own right, as opposed to pre-adult becoming (Qvortrup, 2009; James et al, 1998; Qvortrup et al, 1994). Children's agency and children's competency are key themes of this body of literature:

Children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in which they live. Children are not just the passive subjects of social structures and processes.

(Prout and James, 2015, p.8)

Of course, the 'not just' part of this quote is also key, in that the study does accept that wider forces and processes do shape children's lives (James and Prout, 1995). Childhood studies has led to influencing policy and practice, especially in promoting children's rights (Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

The second body of literature, children's citizenship, is a broad study too, and just as there is not one notion of citizenship, there is not a 'children's citizenship' but rather a literature that explores what citizenship means for children. Generally, this research suggests that depending on context, children have some rights, responsibilities and opportunities for participation, whilst being denied others. The even more focussed 'thread' of children's rights, the third body, has become a significant field of study due to the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Invernizzi and Williams (2008) address rights as being a fundamental embedded notion in the discourse and theory of citizenship. So too, is it evident that the advent of children's rights, following on from the UNCRC in 1989, inspired a proliferation of research on childhoods.

Both childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights share many key concepts and ways of thinking. In the same vein that the contemporary childhood studies has sought to further understand childhood as a social construction, and how they shape and understand their lives and societies, the notion of children's citizenship has seen increased popularity in the last decade as a way of rethinking the position of children in society (Invernizzi and Williams, 2008). Indeed, scholars such as James (2010) argue that childhood studies is a fabric woven of several threads, of which children's rights (and I would also argue children's citizenship) are part of this, as they share many assumptions and concepts - or building blocks.

This thesis focusses on three somewhat interrelated conceptions of citizenship and rights, built upon the building blocks of childhood studies to inform the conceptual framework for this study. From these three notions emerges a shared vocabulary of concepts which are to be operationalised and critically engaged with throughout this research.

The first is the idea of lived citizenship, which is concerned with the ways in which people's social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens (Hall and Williamson, 1999). It is about how people understand and negotiate rights, responsibilities, belonging and participation. With regards to children it is concerned with children as citizens in the here and now, not just as future citizens (Lister, 2007). The second is children's enacted citizenship which is concerned with children's engagement in actions of citizenship that include making rules of social existence, furthering social good and exercising freedoms to achieve their own rights (Larkins, 2014). The third idea that the thesis engages with is the living rights framework developed by Hanson and Nieuwenhuys (2013), which suggests that children can and do interpret and give meaning to their rights based on lived experiences, socio-economic realities, various social relationships, and ideas of right and wrong. What is common to all three is the interpretation of citizenship as more than status, rights as more than those codified, and concentration on the experiences and understandings of children themselves. Building on childhood studies, it is about how children understand and frame their world.

Given all of the above, this thesis is structured around the overarching **aim of analysing the child labour debates in Bolivia by including children's and adolescents' perspectives on work**. This is done through answering the following research question: **How can children's and adolescents' perspectives on work inform the debates on child labour and child work in Bolivia?** The main research question will be addressed by exploring the following sub-questions:

- What are the debates over child labour that exist in Bolivia and why do they exist?
- What are children's and adolescents' understandings on work in this context, and how do they articulate them?
- What can the conceptual framework (built upon childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights) tell us about children's and adolescents' perspectives and understandings, and about these debates?

Methodologically, there is no agreed way to research the phenomenon of child labour or children's work. Similarly, multiple methods and research tools are employed in childhood studies, citizenship studies and children's rights. The thesis is a qualitative study and is largely based on fieldwork conducted between October 2016 and April 2017 in and around La Paz, Bolivia. An initial one-month visit was made to 'the field' in October 2016 in order to assess the field, meet potential participants and conduct preliminary data collection. The research questions were also honed during this time. Following that, a further three months were spent in Bolivia between January 2017 and April 2017. Three main methodological tools were employed by which to collect data: semi-structured interviews, a sentence completion task and document collection and analysis. In total, twenty-one semi-structured interviews were conducted with various individuals, experts and institutions related to the issue of child labour in Bolivia, including academics, government staff, international and local NGO workers, as well as members of NNATs). In addition, 174 sentence completion tasks were completed by school-attending children and adolescents aged between 12 and 17. In order to complement these, various documents relating to laws and standards were also collected, including ILO Conventions, Bolivian Laws (such as Law 548) as well as a manifesto and draft law proposed by Bolivian NNATs.⁶ Thematic and content analysis were the primary analytical tools employed.

At this point it is pertinent to note why this thesis makes use of both the terms children and adolescents. Such terms, along with youth or young people for example, are often used interchangeably in policy and academia, without much thought. However, this thesis refers to children and adolescents for three main reasons. Firstly, children, according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 (UNCRC), are those under the age of 18. Yet, this group of human beings have diverse needs and interests. Under Bolivian law however, the majority of children in this study (aged 12 and above) are classified as *adolescentes*, or adolescents. Yet, and this constitutes the second main reason for referring to children and adolescents, the 'children' that participated in the study commonly self-identified as *adolescentes*, or adolescents. Thus, to recognise both the UN framework as well as those participants of this study and the Bolivian framework, the thesis uses the categories of children and adolescents.⁷

⁶ This draft law was written prior to the ratification of Law 548 and had some influence on it. This is elaborated upon much more throughout the thesis.

⁷ Occasionally however in this thesis, just children will be referred to, to avoid repetition.

i. Argument

The arguments that this thesis makes are both empirical, through the primary data collected and presented, as well as conceptual and theoretical, in the way that childhood, citizenship and rights theories are applied to the research. The thesis has five main, interrelated arguments:

A. The category of ‘child labour’ is not very helpful for understanding children and adolescents who work in the context of this research, because it is too broad a label and because of negative connotations attached to the term. Yet, this is still the main way that the work children do is being articulated in both literature and in policy, especially with reference to the ‘Global South’.⁸ However, as we can see from this research in the Bolivian context, this is starting to change, which is also why it is useful to look at Bolivia. This thesis contributes to the newer literature which focusses on children’s work/working children as opposed to child labour, concentrating more on what we can learn about children’s work in a more holistic way. This thesis thus looks at child work and working children, in the context and debates surrounding child labour.

B. Building upon point A, as a category and concept, child labour is also not very helpful for understanding children’s own experiences and interpretation of their work and other children’s work, as borne out by the Bolivian context and empirical findings from this research. Children’s own experiences and understandings are quite diverse (see point D). Thus, care is needed when defining such terms.

C. What is also not helpful, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in much of academic and policy discourses on children working is the fact that children’s perspectives on work are not taken into account. It is important to understand children’s perspectives on this, as they are the ones who are actually doing the work. This also follows the call in more recent academic work, and follows from one of the rights of the UNCRC (article 12), which is to increase child participation, give children a voice, and listen to that voice. In the Bolivian context it is unrepresented and non-organised children who have,

⁸ I use inverted commas on this occasion of using Global South to accept that, while perhaps the most popular term to use when referring to countries such as Bolivia (low and middle income countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia, in contrast to richer countries in Europe and North America), there are still issues associated with this term, and that there are vast differences between and within countries in the Global South.

intentionally or unintentionally, been denied a voice.⁹ While children from NNATs have been very active and vocal in the debates about child work, non-organised working children have not been. This thesis gives those children opportunity to be heard.

D. Following this, it should also be recognised that children have varied perspectives on working, which are important to consider in both policy and academic debates. Their views and opinions are nuanced, and their understandings of their own lives and their situations are complex, informative and show that they can understand their world. Furthermore, what these perspectives show is that it might be helpful to think about citizenship, and specifically rights and responsibilities as concepts within citizenship, as a lens which allows us to move beyond the ‘child labour’ debates and assumptions, and actually attend to the perspectives of children. In addition, children’s and young people’s intersecting relationships with their family and their education also form part of the context as well as help explain how and why children work in Bolivia. How children’s work intersects in different ways with these aspects of their lives is discussed in the thesis.

E. There is a conflict between world views on childhood, citizenship, rights and child labour. Certain Bolivian views on childhood which thus relate to work, do not align with the views of childhood as presented by other major actors in these child labour debates, notably the ILO and child labour standards. In policy and academic debates, this often translates into not only what is in the best interest of the child, but who should decide what the best interest is.

ii. Thesis Structure

This introduction is followed by a prologue. It presents background information on Bolivia, and focusses on the social, political and economic context, centred around the idea of an ongoing process of change. It is within this Bolivian context presented that this research sits.

Chapter One, titled ‘Child Labour and Children’s Work’ explains both the concept and phenomenon of child labour; how it has been defined and how it has been studied. It begins with a global perspective on child labour and the global child labour agenda,

⁹ Given the fact that the law has been partially revoked, this also throws into question how seriously the voices of represented children were actually taken.

narrowing down towards the Bolivian context to assess the situation of child labour in the country. It is split into three sections: (1) child labour in a global policy context; (2) academic studies of child labour; and finally (3) child labour in the Bolivian context. The chapter shows how this thesis is part of a newer body of work that moves away from the negative reporting on and understanding of child labour, concentrating more on what we can learn about children's work more generally, both the positive and negative aspects. This chapter finishes with the proposition that child labour and child work (and consequently child labourers and child workers) are two different things, even though they are often used interchangeably. This thesis focusses on and aims to explore the concepts of child work and working children, but in the context of the misunderstood phenomena and debates dominated by the term child labour.

Chapter Two, titled 'Childhood Studies, Children's Citizenship and Children's Rights', critically reviews the literature that underpins this research. The chapter explores a number of studies concerned with children within the social sciences, notably in geography, sociology and psychology, as well as in international development. A small section of the studies addressed is concerned with children that work, and even smaller still, children that work in the Global South. These provide the theoretical and conceptual background for this research. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the conceptual framework used to structure the thesis, as well as the theoretical contributions the thesis makes. The chapter is split in to three main sections: (1) childhood studies, (2) children's citizenship and (3) children's rights. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the conceptual framework used to structure the thesis, as well as the theoretical contributions the thesis makes.

Chapter Three, titled 'Research on, with and for Children: Methods, Fieldwork and Analysis', explains the research methodology and fieldwork conducted to collect and analyse the empirical data. The chapter first explains the research approach, the data collection and analysis tools. It then explains the research journey, concentrating on the fieldwork in La Paz and El Alto in Bolivia. It concludes with some reflections on the research process as well as ethical and validity considerations.

Chapter Four, titled 'Child Labour Debates in Bolivia and Implications of Childhood, Rights and Citizenship' examines the actors involved in the child labour debates in Bolivia, their relationships, and their positions both on and within the debates, in order to

expand and open up the debates over whether children should work or not. It focusses on the NNATs, ILO and Bolivian Government. It brings in the empirical data collected during fieldwork, and draws upon much of the interview data, as well as documents from these actors. The chapter also analyses these debates, the actors involved and their claims, in relation to the conceptual framework that grounds this research, as articulated in Chapter Two. It is split into four main sections: the first looks at the most prominent and vocal actors in the debates, those which are institutionalised; the ILO, Bolivian Government and NNATs. The second section examines the main points of contention, debate and agreement between each of these actors. In the third section, the chapter then concentrates on the significance of rights for organised working children. The final section provides a discussion on the debates in relation to the conceptual framework, grounded in childhood, citizenship and rights.

Chapter Five, titled ‘Non-Organised Children’s Understandings of Work: Family, Education and Responsibility’ looks at what work children do, how it is understood and articulated by them, what it means for children and adolescents in Bolivia, and how this informs child labour debates. It brings in the voices of non-organised children. It significantly draws upon the sentence completion task data, as well as several of the interviews, and publications from NNATs. It is split into four main sections. The first examines the participants from the sentence completion task, and the work that they do. Then it analyses their understandings and thoughts on child labour, notably whether it should be illegal or not. The third section then discusses several intersections of children’s work, in relation to family, education and notions of responsibility.¹⁰ Finally, there is a discussion in relation to the conceptual framework.

The Conclusion to the thesis brings all of the above insights together to address the main research question. It presents a final discussion around rights and responsibilities, as well as work, family and education. It answers the research questions that underpins this thesis and outlines the contribution that this thesis makes. It also highlights the limitations of the research as well as potential for further exploration.

Following this is an appendix which provides useful and important supporting documents for this thesis.

¹⁰ Some of this data and discussion in the chapter was also used in my own publication (Willman, 2019).

Prologue. Research Context: Bolivia and a Process of Change

This research is specific to both time and place and it is therefore important to pay attention to the cultures, context and complexity of specific places when conducting research on such a topic. Aitken et al (2006) explains that local geographies are important in understanding the contexts of both childhoods and children's work. Abebe (2009, p.25) furthers this by stating that it is necessary to ground the opinions and understandings of children 'within the complex material social practices of the interconnected histories and geographies in which their livelihoods continue to unfold'. The situation of child labour in Bolivia - including Law 548, the state's relation with International bodies such as the ILO, as well as the sheer numbers of children that work and the types of work that they do - is grounded in the specific culture, context and complexity of this time and place.

With this in mind, this short research background will explore the broader political, social and economic context of both Bolivia and the region. The prologue first discusses the contested post-neoliberal turn in Latin America. It then explores the socialist turn in the Andean region. Third and finally, it addresses the idea of the process of change (or *proceso de cambio*) in Bolivia.¹¹ All of these are crucial to understand, as it is within this context that Law 548 came into being, and it is in this context that contested world views of children, childhood and work play out.

At the beginning of the 21st century and for the following decade, scholars such as Escobar in his extensive piece on contemporary Latin American politics (2010), have explained the social, political, economic and cultural transformation in Latin America. Since European conquest, the Latin American region has undergone several critically examined epochal changes. Most recently, and of relevance to this thesis, is the idea of a post-neoliberal change as a response to the failings of the previous project of neo-liberalism.¹² The significance of neo-liberalism in Latin America is summarised by Escobar as being 'the region that most earnestly embraced neo-liberal reforms, where the model was applied most thoroughly, and where the results are most ambiguous at best'

¹¹ The term process of change was commonly used by Evo Morales and his political party prior to his election in 2005 to encompass their anti-neoliberal stance and to shift power away from traditional elites (Smith, 2018). Processes of Change is also the title of a commonly cited book by Crabtree and Chaplin (2013). However it should be noted that the latest political developments in Bolivia (November 2019) could challenge some of these changes.

¹² Neo-liberalism, broadly, can be defined as the deregulation of the state and expansion of the market in the role of the economy. Harvey (2005) has written extensively on this.

(ibid, p.2). This consequently had all-encompassing effects on many states, including Bolivia, and thus people's lives within them.

Neo-liberalism spread through the region in the form of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) the implementation of which was tied to the availability of loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (ibid). Although Latin America as a region 'embraced' neo-liberal reforms, the effects were contentious (ibid, p.2). Trade and capital flows were liberalised, state assets privatised, markets opened up and deregulated. Analysts recognise the detrimental effects of neo-liberalism in the growth of unemployment, informal employment and trade, weakening links between international trade and national production, structural unevenness among sectors of the economy, immense ecological impact (especially through the expansion of monocrops as agro-fuels), and, most evidently, a sharp increase in inequality and poverty levels (ibid). Coster (2010) cites 1980s neoliberal inspired privatisation of national industries as leading to an increase in child labour, as thousands of adults were forced out of the workforce due to restructuring and cost cutting. Slowly, children entered the workforce as a cheaper alternative and in order to support their families.

Following this neoliberal period, some scholars argue that a paradigm shift occurred, calling it a post-neoliberal turn (Villalba, 2013; Yates and Bakker, 2013; Grugel and Riggirozzi, 2012; Escobar, 2010). The characteristics of the turn itself are debated, but the belief that market focused economic policy of the previous neoliberal era failed to address the problem of poverty and inequality in Latin America, if not exacerbated it, is widely accepted (Villalba, 2013; Grugel and Riggirozzi, 2012). Yates and Bakker (2013) understand post-neoliberalism as both an idealistic project, centred on academic and political discourses and as a set of on-the-ground processes and practices directed towards overcoming the institutional legacy of neoliberalism. Yates and Bakker illustrate two essential characteristics: redirecting a market economy towards social concerns, and reviving citizenship via a new politics of participation and alliances across sociocultural sectors and groups. Grugel and Riggirozzi (2012) argue that the turn is characterized by (a) the return of the state in the role of agent for development and regulator of the economy, (b) a new kind of politics responsive to local communities, and (c), by the introduction of new mechanisms for social inclusion and welfare. All of this has been visible in Bolivia. The NNATs who voiced support for Law no. 548 for example, (as will be discussed in much greater detail later in the thesis) are evidence of this increased

participation, as are welfare programmes have been extended to families and school children.

There are different views of the causes of the transformation in the region (Prest, 2010). Drake and Hershberg (2006) believe that the region was still struggling from the effects of the SAP programmes, and thus the left-turn is thus a reaction to the neoliberal economic policies and the legacy it left upon Latin America. Alternatively, Lucero (2008) believes the causes are internal, a combination of positive social and political change, robust indigenous social movements, and allied political parties. The turn is illustrated by the election of leftist governments in Venezuela (1999), Chile (2000), Brazil (2002), Argentina (2003), Uruguay (2004), followed by Peru (2006), Bolivia, (2006) and Ecuador (2007) (Crabtree, 2009; Panizza, 2005). The governments of Ecuador, Venezuela, Peru and Bolivia could even be considered radical, in their desire to challenge the existing political, social and economic orders, promote socioeconomic agendas and deepen democracy through participation (Ellner, 2013; Nilsson, 2013; Walker, 2008; Katz, 2007). Certainly, the stance of the Bolivian Government, not only on child labour through Law 548 but also with regard to nationalising industries and land reform, has been considered radical by other actors. The left however has come under scrutiny. Corruption has been evident and led to sentencing of heads of state in Brazil, Peru and Ecuador. In Bolivia, President Evo Morales had altered the constitution and held referenda over being able to run for additional presidential terms, which will be mentioned again in more detail consequently.

New constitutions in Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador are evidence of a unique period of transformation in the Andean region (Prest, 2010). Similar to the changes in the broader Latin American region, the causes and consequences of the change are hotly contested. Often referred to as 'Twenty First Century Socialism', the paradigm shift in the Andean region has been represented by the rise of participatory democracy and indigenous politics (Kennemore and Weeks, 2011).¹³ The promotion of '*Buen Vivir*' (Ecuador) and '*Vivir Bien*' (Bolivia), a social, political and economic philosophy is also a vital tenet of this change. Roughly translating to mean 'live well', the '*vivir bien*' decolonial rhetoric, enshrined in Ecuadorian and Bolivian constitutions, is inspired by the

¹³ 'Twenty-First Century Socialism' has been defined a resentment toward market-oriented policies, which grew across Latin America in the 1990s (Dieterich, 2005).

experience and practice of Quechuan '*Sumak Kawsay*' and Aymaran '*Suma Qamaña*' (a life of fullness).¹⁴

Most recently however, several events have raised even more question about the state of politics and society in Latin America, which Grugel and Riggirozzi (2018) see as a risk to democracy and potential shift back to neoliberalism, given the widening shift to the right in Latin American politics. This is most evident in the recent election of far-right president Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil. Other right-wing, or conservative swings have occurred in Chile, Colombia, Peru and Argentina (ibid). The post-neoliberal challenge, Riggirozzi and Grugel believe, might be drawing to a close (ibid).

Within the paradigm changes in Latin America and the Andean region, Bolivia specifically is an exemplar of recent changes, and arguably offers the strongest rebuff of the neo-liberal period in South America. In the context of the left turn in Latin America, and a rise in indigenous politicisation combined with the end of traditional party politics in the Andes, Bolivia has, and still is to a certain extent, undergone its own unique process of change. Bolivia's left turn can be marked by the rise of *Movimiento al Socialismo* (Movement toward Socialism, or MAS), a collection of organisations and social movements which distinguishes itself from traditional political parties. MAS rose from neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s, under the leadership of Evo Morales, an indigenous, ex child-labourer from an impoverished background (Crabtree and Chaplin, 2013). He has since become the country's longest serving president (there have been 83 since independence from Spain in 1825, 37 of whom came to power by means of a coup), winning his first election in 2005 with 53% of the vote. He subsequently won re-elections in 2009 and 2014, and controversially stood again in October 2019.¹⁵

Economically, MAS has aimed at the redistribution of wealth and power from established, partly colonial elites, towards previously marginalised groups. Economic strategy has been directed towards the nationalisation of the country's natural resources and using this wealth not to enrich foreign multinationals as occurred during the neoliberal period, but to raise the standard of living of neglected populations in Bolivia. However, this has not been without critique, and indeed, has also not stopped the state from exploiting natural resources in an unsustainable way.

¹⁴ Aymara and Quecha are two of the most widely spoken indigenous languages in Bolivia.

¹⁵ Immediately prior to submission of this thesis, Morales had, controversially, won the election. This was met with controversy and protests, and his resignation and fleeing to Mexico.

MAS was formed in the belief that liberal institutions could be transformed to meet the interests of the poor and indigenous (Postero, 2010). The new constitution of 2009 is both a political and ideological illustration of this process of change. Despite 17 different constitutions since the first in 1826, the 2009 constitution is a political, social and economic milestone in the process of change that has been sweeping the country over the past two decades. Some believe that the changes are as, if not more significant than those initiated by the national revolution of the 1950s (Crabtree and Chaplin, 2013).¹⁶ The 2009 constitution specifically denounces neoliberalism and calls for an active role of the state in the economy. The new constitution promotes indigenous values, creates a plurinational state, recognises 37 official languages and is an attempt to deepen democracy (Fontana, 2013; Rojas, 2013).¹⁷ To do so, it combines ‘direct participatory democracy and indirect representative liberal democracy’ and encourages participation through actions such as ‘referenda, citizens’ initiatives and prior consultations’ (Nilsson, 2013, p.37).

Related to this, significant political changes are also increasingly visible in Bolivian society, especially ‘democratisation’ (Prest, 2010). The democratisation called for by the constitution is illustrated in the increasing inclusion of groups once marginalised. Power is no longer held by the traditional elites, but is spread to a larger and more representative group.¹⁸ The newly included groups are largely indigenous, who had previously been marginalised during colonisation and the post-colonial period (Crabtree, 2009). It should be noted, however, that the extent of this inclusion has been questioned. For instance, Htun and Ossa's (2013) paper on inclusion of marginalised groups questioned this inclusion however, showing that indigenous people are largely ignored in parliament (being allocated 5% of seats). Women, although understandably not a homogenous group just as indigenous populations are not, are one previously marginalized group within the

¹⁶ The national revolution in 1952 gave universal rights to vote and universal education. It has been considered a significant socio-political event in Latin American history. Gotkowitz (2008) has written extensively about the revolution.

¹⁷ Plurinational is the recognition of indigenous nations with rights to autonomy, self-government, culture, recognition of their institutions and consolidation of their territorial entities (Article 2 of the 2009 constitution).

¹⁸ The democratisation in the region is extremely complex and cannot be covered entirely in this section. For example, Walker (2008) explains the reality of the alternative direct, or participatory democracy that is being pursued in the region, as bypassing the institutions of representative democracy. The key points however, that power is shifting and being contested, is covered. Other authors which look at this are Crabtree and Chaplin (2013), Farthing and Kohl (2014) and Geddes (2015).

country that have reached record levels of political mobilization, through the gender parity law and 51% of the seats in parliament.

This democratisation is also complex when it comes to children, a group that could be considered marginalized. Ecuador for example has a lower voting age (16), than Bolivia (18). Yet, with (at least prior to their backtracking) Law 548, Bolivia has taken a unique stance on child labour and tried to include working children's opinions in legislation through NNATs. Indeed, this is the first law of its kind in the world to use the input of working children (Liebel, 2015).

According to Anria (2013), the success of MAS since 2005 has been centred on ethnopopulism, an electoral attitude that focusses on both populist and ethnic grounds. Madrid argues that ethnopopulism combines an 'inclusive ethnic appeal and classical populist strategies to fuse traditional populist constituencies—politically disenchanted urban mestizos with nationalist and statist views—to its rural, largely indigenous base' (2011, p.475). Recently however, despite economic strides made in the country, increases in standards of living and increased participation, Morales' tenure has come under significant scrutiny (Schipani, 2014). As briefly mentioned a few paragraphs above, in 2016 a referendum was held on whether Morales should be allowed to run for a fourth term, against the 2009 constitution he spearheaded. He lost, to which the Supreme Court then overturned the referendum decision and would allow him to run in 2019, and leading to more questions about the actual extent and depth of democratisation in Bolivia.¹⁹

Five key elements of this process of change are key to this thesis and will be explored and referenced in greater depth throughout the rest of the chapters. The first is the mixture of anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, anti-American, anti-colonial and anti-neoliberal rhetoric that is rife across political discourse in Bolivia. MAS, since it has been in power and prior to Evo's election, has denounced many principles of neoliberal orientation, especially the privatization of industries and resources and trade liberalization, and has instead called for income redistribution and the nationalization of natural resources. In addition, there is a mistrust of Western political hegemony and US imperialism, evident in the disagreement over narcotics laws and use of USAID in the country. Hostility reached a peak with the expulsion of US diplomats, the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency), and US funded NGOs including USAID in 2008, citing the treatment of Bolivia

¹⁹ See footnote no.15.

as a ‘banana republic’ (Burbach, 2008). The US subsequently expelled the Bolivian ambassador from Washington. The relevance of this is evident in the defiance against international standards based on Western hegemonic discourse and a push for the development of alternatives, principally against ILO’s standards on child labour. There is a general distrust of Western inspired standards, which are also seen to challenge Bolivian sovereignty and a certain stubbornness about doing things based on indigenous worldviews, rather than that of the West.

The second element is related to this anti-neoliberal rhetoric and is evident in economic policy. It manifests itself in changing ideas towards welfare. Income from re-nationalisation of the hydrocarbon industry, for instance, has been spent on various welfare programmes, including those to help support families in a bid to discourage children working. The most notable of these in relation to children, is the Bono Juancito Pinto, a conditional cash transfer programme (CCT) payable to school children and the Bono Juana Azurduy for expectant new mothers and infants. The Juancito Pinto is an annual payment of 200 Bolivianos (around 30 US dollars) to the families of every school child who has met attendance quotas the previous year. This was introduced to encourage school enrolment, by relieving some of the financial burden of attending school which require books to be purchased, transport costs and uniform. The Juana Azurduy is up to US \$260 per baby for attending medical appointments. Both are thus welfare programmes to improve the economic situations of families, which may restrict the necessity, or indeed desire of children to work. They have, however, been critiqued for being too small in value to have any impact on school attendance or poverty alleviation (McGuire, 2013). For comparison, the average child’s earnings were \$1,452 per year in 2006-2008 (ibid).

The third element of the process of change in Bolivia relevant to this thesis is the combined protection and promotion of indigenous ways of life that may have at one point been considered backward or in need of modernisation, arguably against the norms pushed upon ‘developing’ countries like Bolivia during the neo-liberal period. This is bound up in ideas of decolonisation and development alternatives. Within this context, children’s work is seen as part of societal and cultural expectation, and as such, is afforded special protection – it is protected in both the 2009 constitution and Law 548.²⁰

²⁰ Although whether this has been overturned with the law reversal in 2018 is unclear.

The fourth element of the process of change that is key to this thesis has to do with the relationship between the state and civil society. Bolivia has a long history of a well organised and strong civil society, which too has been affected during this process of change. Indeed MAS defines itself differently from other traditional political parties, as a collection of social movements. Morales was himself a former coca activist and trade union leader, and after his election in 2005, social movements gained unprecedented access to the state, with the boundaries between the two becoming blurred by many social movement leaders taking up important roles in government (Crabtree and Chaplin, 2013). The relevance of this is related to the NNATs, their strength as a social movement, and their involvement in the drafting of Law 548. They even created their own draft law four years prior to the ratification of Law 548 (UNATsBO, 2010). There is deeper discussion of this in Chapters One, Four and Five.

Finally, and linked to the fourth point, is the increased democratisation of previously marginalised groups, as was briefly mentioned prior. Law 548 is the first law of its kind in the world to use the input of working children, however the scale of representation of and for children, and participation by working children are questionable, and are addressed in this thesis.

The last part of this prologue addresses the critiques levelled against *Vivir Bien*, which are relevant to the thesis as a whole. Each of the five aforementioned elements of the process of change in Bolivia are to some extent rooted in this call for *Vivir Bien/Sumak Kawsay/Suma Qamaña*, which officially act as a guiding principle for all state policies, and is framed as a development alternative (Radcliffe, 2015; Liebel, 2014). It is a meta political narrative that the state promotes and has (or at least, has been cited as having) influenced policy making at different levels. It has been explained as:

...a product of ‘ancestral indigenous logic’, this notion of ‘Vivir Bien’ is discursively imbued with indigenous values such as equilibrium, harmony, and complementarity with Mother Earth and the community, which are held out as an antithesis to the model of capitalist accumulation.

(Chambi-Mayta, 2017, p.95)

Various scholars, some of whom are Aymara or from other indigenous groups, have been somewhat critical of the concept of *Vivir Bien* and its application. They have referenced

its lack of empirical evidence which supports its values, its predominantly urban focus and lack of translation of the rhetoric into tangible policy (Chambi-Mayta, 2017; Ranta, 2016; Guarachi López, 2015). On a more practical level, despite environmental and wealth redistribution claims, natural resources are still being unsustainably exploited and there is increasing Chinese investment in this exploitation with much criticism (Revette, 2017; Villalba-Eguiluz and Extano, 2017; Ranta, 2016). Radcliffe (2015, p.864) highlights that there has not been a complete departure from neoliberalism towards post-neoliberalism and the Vivir Bien development alternative, and that 'it has proved difficult to disentangle programmes and policy agendas from neoliberal institutions, procedures and language'. This is most evident in the CCTs mentioned above. Radcliffe believes they come at the expense of the environment, funded by the hydrocarbon industry.

To summarise, Bolivia in recent decades has attempted an anti-neoliberal program, with the aim of redistributing wealth and power from established, partly colonial elites, towards previously marginalised groups, spearheaded by Morales and MAS. Economic strategy was directed towards the nationalisation of the country's natural resources and using this wealth not to enrich foreign multinationals as occurred during the neoliberal period, but to raise the standard of living of neglected populations in Bolivia. However, this has not been without critique. Five key elements of this process of change are key to this thesis, as have just been explained, and will be explored and referenced in greater depth throughout the rest of the chapters.

With this broader, time and place specific context now considered, the next chapter, titled 'Chapter One. From Child Labour to Children's Work: Policy, Context and Research', attends to the concept of child labour. It looks at how it has been defined and studied, concentrating on global policy, scholarly research and the prevalence of it in Bolivia. The chapter shows how this thesis is part of a newer body of work that moves away from the negative reporting on and understanding of child labour, concentrating more on what we can learn about children's work more generally, both the positive and negative aspects.

Chapter One. From Child Labour to Children's Work: Policy, Context and Research

1.1. Chapter Introduction

Child labour is a global phenomenon, debated, measured and characterised at multiple scales and across various contexts. There are varying estimates of the numbers of children involved in child labour across the globe. How child labour and child employment is defined can affect these estimates, as well as the methodological tools used to collect such data (UNICEF, 2012). A commonly cited figure is that there are 152 million child labourers, with child labour most prevalent in Sub-Saharan Africa (ILO, 2017). Approximately 11 million of these children are in Latin America and the Caribbean (ibid). That is, those working below the legal working age or engaged in the worst forms of child labour, the definitions of which will be explained in this chapter. Despite these large numbers, incidences of child labour globally have been on the decrease for decades. However, even more children are engaged in work that is not considered child labour, approximately 218 million, which includes work above the legal working age, work that is classified as light work, and work that is not considered harmful or exploitative (ILO, 2017).

The main aim of this chapter is to explore the concept and issue of child labour and children's work, focussing on how these have been defined and how they have been studied. The chapter concentrates on three areas in three separate sections, beginning with a more global perspective and then focussing on the Bolivian context. The first section concentrates on this global perspective, highlighting the international policy context in order to examine the global agenda on child labour and children's work. The next section focusses on child labour and children's work from a scholarly perspective, looking at what has been studied and how. The final section looks at child labour and children's work in the Bolivian context, which marries the foundations of the two previous sections: policy, statistics and academic study.

The chapter concludes with the proposition that child labour and child work (and consequently child labourers and child workers) are two different phenomena, yet so often are used interchangeably. This means that children's work can be misrepresented. This thesis focusses and aims to explore the concepts of child work and working children, but in the context of the misunderstood phenomena and debates dominated by the term

child labour. The chapter also argues that the three ways in which this chapter looks at the phenomena of child labour and children's work - through policy, academia and scholarly work, and the place specific context - are a holistic and appropriate way to do so.

1.2. Child Labour: Global Policy and Agenda

This section focuses on child labour in an international policy context and explains the dominant agenda of this policy: the fight to eradicate child labour. The first part of this section outlines and explains the different actors, policies and agendas involved in child labour on an international scale, followed by definitions of different types of child labour and finally a discussion of the causes of child labour according to international policies.

1.2.1. The main actors, their policies and their agendas

Child labour is a key topic on the international political agenda. The UN is the leading institutional actor engaged in international policy on child labour, and shapes prevailing discourse. More specifically, both the ILO (International Labour Organisation) and UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), UN agencies, are very active in child labour policy and debates, and this work is thus important to highlight. The ILO sets out labour standards and policies and promotes decent work, bringing together governments, employers and workers. Thus, child labour falls under its remit. In 1992, the ILO created IPEC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour), whose aim is to encourage the eradication of child labour across the world. UNICEF provides humanitarian and developmental assistance to children in developing countries. In relation to child labour, UNICEF aims to build a protective environment for children that safeguards them from exploitation and abuse, and regularly report and comment on child labour related issues (UNICEF, n.d.).

There are multiple key international conventions, recommendations, programmes and conferences in relation to child labour, which are shown in Table 1 below. There have been conventions relating to child labour from the ILO since 1919. Smolin recognises four distinct stages of activism by the ILO towards child labour. The first two stages involved setting minimum ages for various industries, and then revising them. The standards of these initial stages, Smolin writes, were considerably tolerant by

contemporary standards. The third and fourth stages include ILO Convention 138 and ILO Convention 182 (two of the most recent and significant conventions relating to child labour) and are indicative of the ILO seeking the total abolition of child labour (third stage) and moving this aim of abolition to the forefront of the ILO's activities (fourth stage). Bessell (1999) and White (2005) agree that the 1970s saw an abolitionist approach to child labour and the 1980s saw a rise of the protectionist movement. Bessell equates the 1990s to an 'abolish it now approach', whereas White sees the 1990s from a perspective of human rights and in relation to international trade.

Year	Name	Organisation	Key points in relation to child labour
<i>Global Conventions and Recommendations</i>			
1973	ILO C.138	ILO	Minimum Age Convention <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minimum age of children to enter into employment is 15 Countries may set this at 14 for a limited period of time, whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed Light work is acceptable at 13
1973	ILO R.146	ILO	Minimum Age Recommendation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offers a set of practical recommendations for ILO C.138 effective application.
1989	UNCRC	UN	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Article 32 - Right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation, hazardous or harmful work.
1999	ILO C.182	ILO	Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lists worst forms of child labour. Signatories must take immediate and effective measures to prohibit and eliminate these with urgency.
1999	ILO R.190	ILO	Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offers a set of practical recommendations for ILO C.182 effective application.
2015	SDG 8.7, 16.2	UN	Sustainable Development Goals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8.7 - Secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms. 16.2 - Demands the end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children.
<i>Regional Declarations</i>			
2000	Declaration of Santa Cruz de la Sierra	Mercosur (Southern Common Market) and ACN (Andean Community of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commitment to progressively eliminate child labour, prioritizing worst forms

		Nations) - Ministers of Labour of members countries	
2001	Declaration of Asunción	Mercosur, Bolivia, Chile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Issues of child labour were addressed
2003	Middle of the World Declaration	ACN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Promotion of a regional plan for the progressive eradication of child labour
<i>International Conferences</i>			
1997	I Oslo	ILO/IPEC	International Conference on Child Labour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Considered the role of development and international cooperation can play in eliminating child labour ○ Contribute to the development of new strategies to eliminate child labour at multiple levels
2010	II Hague	ILO/IPEC	Global Child Labour Conference <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Set out roadmap to freeing the world of child labour by 2016
2013	III Brasilia	ILO/IPEC	Global Conference on Child Labour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Reflect on progress of previous conference
2017	IV Argentina	ILO/IPEC	Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ New aim of meeting SDG goals of the eradication of child labour by 2025

Table 1. Key standards, conventions, conferences and agreements in relation to child labour. Created by author.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was a landmark agreement and is the most ratified of any human rights treaty in the world. It brought children into international human rights treaties, where they had previously been ignored (Fontana and Grugel, 2015; Grugel and Peruzotti, 2007; Doek, 2002). The convention pledges basic human rights for children, grouped into civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, through 54 different articles covering all aspects of a child's life. It also states that adults and governments must work together to make sure all children can enjoy all of their rights (UN General Assembly, 1989).

According to the UNCRC a child is every human being below the age of 18 years, unless the age of maturity is earlier as defined in a country's specific law. Article 32 of the convention relates to child labour and states that:

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

2. States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:

- (a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
- (b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
- (c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

(UN General Assembly, 1989: Article 32)

ILO Convention 138, adopted in 1973, sets the minimum age that a person may be admitted into employment. It is currently set at 15 years old (ILO, 1973). Special case countries may set the minimum age at 14 for a limited period of time, if their economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed, with the aim of raising it to 15. This was the case with Bolivia, when it ratified C138 in 1997. The convention also states that signatories must pursue national policy aimed at the effective abolition of child

labour, and to also progressively raise the minimum age for admission to work to a level consistent with the fullest physical and mental development of young persons (ibid). Countries may set their own minimum age, providing it is no less than 15 years, and is not lower than the age of completing compulsory schooling. The minimum age for hazardous work, which can involve dangerous tools or in an unhealthy environment, is 18, and the minimum age for light work, which is not harmful to health or intervenes with a child's attendance at school, is 12 for special case countries, but encouraged at 13.

Although child labour was a concern from the outset of the ILO in 1919, this was its first major convention following growing concern from constituent members (Nam, 2013). To accompany this convention, the ILO also created ILO Recommendation No. 146 on minimum age for admission to employment, in 1973. ILO Recommendation No. 146 is a document that offers a set of practical recommendations for the convention's effective implementation in the ratifying countries. It highlights the need to provide children and their families with all of the opportunities available to prevent children from working. It establishes the minimum working age at 16 years, and outlines the protection mechanisms, norms and restrictions for work of adolescents between 16 and 18 years.

ILO Convention 182, also called the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, lists the worst forms of child labour and states that signatories must take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency (ILO, 1999: n.p). Bolivia ratified this convention in 2003. The worst forms of child labour are listed as:

- (a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;

(d) Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

(ILO, 1999)

Recommendation No. 190 on Worst Forms of Child Labour accompanied this convention, which offers a set of practical recommendations for effective implementation in the ratifying countries.

Finally, there are several Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and indicators related to children and child labour, of which UNICEF is the custodian or co-custodian of 17. Specifically, in relation to work are SDG goals 8.7 and 16.2. 8.7 demands immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms. Goal 16.2 demands the end of abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children (adapted from UNICEF, 2018). The ILO however has warned that these targets for 2025 are unlikely to be met (ILO, 2017).

Since the first conference was held in 1997, there have also been four international conferences on child labour, organised by the ILO and IPEC. The Oslo International Conference on Child Labour in 1997 considered, ‘the role [that] development and international cooperation can play in eliminating child labour; and...the development of new strategies to eliminate child labour at the national, regional and international levels’ (ILO, 1997: n.p). Representatives from forty states attended. The Hague Global Child Labour Conference in 2010 set out a roadmap to freeing the world of child labour by 2016. The conference was 10 years after ILO C.182. The III Global Conference on Child Labour in Brasilia was defined as ‘an opportunity for governments, social partners and civil society to reflect on the progress made since the previous global conference... and to discuss ways to step up global efforts against child labour – especially its worst forms’ (ILO, 2013b: n.p). The most significant conference was the most recent, the IV Global Conference on the Sustained Eradication of Child Labour. This conference took place after the passing of Bolivia’s new law and after the establishment of the SDGs. The conference set the aim of eliminating child labour by 2025, and forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking by 2030. This was following the failure to meet their own

2016 targets. The conference resulted in the Buenos Aires Declaration on Child Labour, Forced Labour and Youth Employment (ILO, 2017).

Criticisms of the conferences have come from child worker organisations and scholars (Holzscheiter, 2016). In Oslo, eight representatives of child worker organisations were invited to speak. They demanded to be included in policy making on behalf of working children, questioned the complete abolition of child labour and requested improvement to working conditions (ibid). This provoked strong reactions from other delegates who questioned the children's legitimacy. Working children's organisations have since been excluded from the conferences (Holzscheiter, 2016; Miljeteig, 2000). Holzscheiter (2016, p.224) summarises how the conferences:

...evidence the strong prevalence of tokenist approaches to child participation, where children's voices are only included whenever they emphasise their misery or underline the protective, 'rescuing' role of the global community or a specific organisation. Children's narratives are valued for their emotional appeal, but not appreciated as opinions or a source of policy-relevant information.

These criticisms raise important questions for this thesis, centred around the legitimacy and ability of children to speak, the inclusion of children in discussion and policies about them, and the voice or narrative that the children are expected to present.

The ILO has been continuing its campaign against child labour and documenting its progress (ILO 2010, 2013a, 2013c, 2015, 2017). It publishes child labour trends using statistics quadrennially. It also publishes special reports, such as 'Accelerating action against child labour' (ILO, 2010) following specific sessions, honouring its commitment to ending child labour. Progress towards the commitment to eradicate child labour can be measured differently depending on definitions and the aims of the action taken (more on this to come). As previously mentioned, meeting the sustainable development goals in relation to child labour has been described by the ILO as unlikely, although not impossible (ILO, 2017). In the last report, which shows trends between 2012 and 2016, ILO state how the challenge of ending child labour remains a formidable one, with 152 million children engaged in child labour globally, 73 million of these in hazardous work (ILO, 2013a; ILO, 2013c). However, the positives, they state, are that child labour has

declined during this period, and in overall relative terms since reporting global estimates since 2000. Progress was slower during the most recent reporting period, which the ILO attribute to a narrower focus on targeting the worst forms of child labour. These trend reports tend not to mention specific countries and comment only on regional and global trends.

Several declarations have also been made in South America, as shown in Table 1 above. Those worth mentioning include the Declaration of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, ratified in 2000, the Declaration of Asunción, ratified in 2001, and the Middle of the World Declaration, ratified in 2003. The first was a declaration by Ministers of Labour in Mercosur (Southern Common Market, which Bolivia joined in 2015) and the Andean Community of Nations (of which Bolivia is a founding member), in which the commitment to progressively eliminate child labour was reiterated following meetings in the 1990s. The declaration prioritised the eradication of the worst forms of child labour and are aligned to the fundamental principles and rights at work promoted by the ILO. The Declaration of Asunción was ratified by Mercosur nations, Bolivia and Chile, and addressed issues of inequality, poverty and child labour. The Middle of the World Declaration, which established agreements between the Ministers of Labour from each country within the Andean Community, among which was the commitment to promote the implementation of a sub-regional plan for the progressive eradication of child labour.

There are also several NGOs and CSOs heavily involved at a global scale on the issue of child labour. One of the largest of these Global March against Child Labour, a transnational network of CSOs that have been involved in the International Conferences, the only CSO (although strictly speaking it is a network) to do so. It has grown in scale since the 1990s and seeks to promote and protect the rights of children, especially the right to free and meaningful education, and also aims to get children free from economic exploitation (Global March, n.d.). The network was heavily involved in the drafting of ILO.182, and organisations involved include Oxfam International, World Vision, Save the Children, Action Aid, Anti-Slavery International and Terre des Hommes. Critically, the Global March, while claiming to represent children, excludes anyone that defends the right to work, including working children themselves (Holzscheiter, 2016).

These declarations, standards, conventions and conferences show several things. Firstly, they illustrate that child labour is considered an issue to be eradicated by the ILO. This,

more recently, has been more focussed towards the worst forms of child labour, slavery and forced labour (as evident by C.182). Secondly, what is clear from the differing approaches to tackling child labour is that the UNCRC was influential in the way that child labour was targeted, which has consequently led to child labour being viewed as a children's rights issue and thus through the discourse of children's rights. This has also led to a proliferation of academic research from a rights perspective (which both the next section [1.3] and Chapter Two address).

Thirdly, as we have seen thus far in this chapter, there are different terms and concepts that can be applied to children's work, other than a blanket term of 'child labour'. Several terms have already been mentioned such as light work, children's work child labour and hazardous work. Thus, it is imperative that we understand each of these and the important distinctions. The definitions and terms in this chapter are based on those provided by the ILO. However, as to how children may understand and define their own work is examined in Chapters Four and Five.

Fourthly, and with specific reference to Latin America, the 'issue' of child labour was and is on the regional political agenda, arguably inspired by the actions of IPEC and conventions of the ILO. Several nations, including Bolivia, were (and to a certain extent are currently) committed to its eradication. However, the way they approach this is different – as section 1.4 will show.

Finally, there are different types of conventions, recommendations and standards relating to child labour. The ILO itself explains that standards are, "legal instruments drawn up by the ILO's constituents (governments, employers and workers) ... setting out basic principles and rights at work" (ILO, n.d.) Conventions are legally binding international treaties which may be ratified by member states, and recommendations which are non-binding guidelines (ibid). These are drawn up by representatives of governments, employers and workers. Ratifying countries commit themselves to applying said convention into their own national law and practice. In addition, there are fundamental conventions, such as C138 and C182, which are considered as essential principles and rights at work.

However, with all of this, what stands out is the idea of 'legally binding'. The ILO have no police force as it were, or tools of punishment. Although they can try to enforce labour

laws or discourage violations through sanctions, however the ILO themselves state that “securing effective enforcement represents a significant challenge” (Vega and Robert, 2013). The ILO do not monitor compliance, which is left up to member states to monitor (although with the Bolivian case, they did set up a special task force – see Chapter Four). At least officially, as Chapter Four will attest to, non-commitment towards these standards can provoke punishment from other member states, usually in the form of economic sanctions or trade impediments. However, as van Daalen and Mabillard (2019) show, the ILO has limited tools with which to enforce compliance. Its only real leverage, they believe, comes from development and trade deals with smaller countries of the Global South, like Bolivia. This punishment through trade deals is likely to harm countries of the Global South more so.

1.2.2. Key concepts and definitions

As is apparent from the discussion above, there are many categorisations for the different types of work and activities that children engage in. From the perspective of the ILO, IPEC and UNICEF, there are two types of activity that children can do (activity being a broader term), and within this, different types of work that children do, to be categorised and defined. These inform and dictate the way statistics are collected internationally. The following has been collated from various ILO publications (2016; 2010; 2008; 2004). The two activities, in the broadest sense, are:

1. Children in employment: This work can be legal or illegal, formal or informal, inside or outside family settings, part time or full time. Children in employment refers to those working in any form of market production and some types of non-market production (such as the production of goods for own use, such as agricultural). It also includes domestic work done outside the child’s own household for an employer.
2. Children performing other productive activities: This is most commonly household chores or domestic and personal services for consumption within their own household. This could be, but is not limited to chores include caring for household members, cleaning and household repair and maintenance, cooking and

serving meals, washing and ironing clothes as well as transporting or accompanying family members to and from work and school.²¹

Child labour can be part of both of the activities, as shown by Figure 1 below. There are then different types of work:

1. Light Work: This, according to UNICEF, does not affect children's health and personal development, or interfere with their schooling. Under C138, children may undertake such work from the age of 12 or 13. This type of work can be regarded as being something positive and can contribute to children's development as well as towards the welfare of their families. This type of work can also provide children with skills and experience and help to prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life.
2. Child labour: This is often defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to work that:
 - is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
 - interferes with their schooling:
 - o By depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;
 - o By obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
 - o By requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.
3. Worst forms of child labour and hazardous work: These, as explained by C182, involve cases where children are being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities often at a very early age. Worst forms of child labour and hazardous work can be defined by definition and by condition (Nam, 2013). By

²¹ The ILO does not state explicitly whether they distinguish between children being paid or unpaid for such tasks. They do state, however, that such work 'constitutes a non-economic form of production and are excluded from consideration in the UN System of National Accounts (UNSNA), the internationally agreed standard set of guidelines for measuring national economic activity, as well from the 2016 Global Estimates' (ILO, 2017, p.21). Thus, although such work, if it is hazardous is by the ILO's definition considered child labour, it is not considered so in its global estimates and is reviewed differently.

definition is work that is defined as illegal; such as prostitution or pornography, involvement in illicit activity (e.g. weapon or drug manufacturing and trafficking), slavery, and soldiering. By condition refers to hazardous working conditions, such as using dangerous tools or in dangerous spaces, exposure to physical or psychological abuse, unhealthy environment or hazardous substances, or long hours or other hazardous conditions. This, as the diagram below shows, is considered part of child labour.

Children (5-17 years old) in productive activities				
Children in employment			Children in other productive activities	
CHILD LABOUR			Permissible light work (12-14 years old)	of which included as <i>child labour</i> under the general production boundary
Worst forms of child labour		Employment below minimum age	– Work not designated as worst forms (15-17 years old)	
Hazardous work by children	Other worst forms of child labour			Hazardous unpaid household services
Exposure to physical, psychological or sexual abuse Underground, under water, dangerous heights, confined spaces Dangerous machinery, equipment or tools, heavy loads Unhealthy environment, hazardous substances, temperatures, noise levels or vibrations damaging to health Long hours, night work, other particularly difficult conditions	All forms of slavery or similar practices, trafficking, debt bondage, serfdom, forced or compulsory labour, forced or compulsory recruitment in armed conflict Child prostitution, pornography Illicit activities, production and trafficking of drugs, etc.			

Figure 1. Child labour as defined by international legal standards. Source: ILO, 2013a, p.18.

The purpose in defining different types of work, for the ILO at least, is to measure the different types of work done across many contexts and obtain a clear picture of the work that children do. These standards provide a ‘normative system’ with which to distinguish between different types of child labour (ILO, 2004, p.17). With regards to defining child labour and its worst forms, the aim is eradication and the tackling of these worst forms. However, despite attempts by the ILO to clarify the meaning and definition of child labour (and other types of work), according to Liebel (2007), it is still a profoundly contested concept, as section 1.3 will also show. Of course, following the ILO’s guides is only one way to define such work, and indeed, individual countries may opt to follow these definitions or adopt new ones. Working children themselves may articulate their work differently, as will be explored through the Bolivian context in chapters four and five. In this chapter, how different types of work are defined in scholarly work is

addressed in section 1.3. This scholarly work often critically engages with ILO definitions. How differing types of work and activity is defined and codified in Bolivia is dealt with in section 1.4.

1.2.3. Causes of child labour internationally

According to this international discourse on child labour, the causes of child labour can be categorised into internal or external forces on the child or family, as well as because of market forces. The ILO concentrate on two inter-related factors that contribute to child labour, that is, economic pressures and the role of the family unit, as most child labour takes place within this unit (ILO, 2017). This can thus be cultural or societal expectation, whereby a child is expected to perform tasks in the home, on a farm, or help out in family businesses (paid or unpaid). Economic pressures on a family unit may encourage this, or may encourage children to seek third party employment in order to supplement family income. There are both internal and external causes within this: internal in that there may be an expectation from the family or community, and external in that market forces and pressures have left the family in poverty. However, it is not just poverty that is a cause, given that even families below the poverty line do not have children working, and conversely, families above the poverty line do. This can perhaps be explained by cultural or societal expectations. However, it could also be explained by other factors that the international discourse often fails to take into consideration, namely, children's own agency and their own individual reasons to work.

External of the family unit however, children may be in a child labour situation if they are living on the street in order to support themselves, or in a form of slavery. Economic pressures and poverty are thus casual influences in these cases. The ILO also points to a correlation between situations of conflict and disaster and child labour (ILO, 2017). Countries affected by armed conflict have a 77% higher than average incidence of child labour and 50% higher chance of hazardous work. This is most often the case in Africa (ibid). Another common factor in Africa, specifically sub-Saharan Africa, is the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which had led to many children being orphaned or losing productive members of the family, and thus having to take on a productive role. However, this is not so relevant in Latin America. The ILO also cites societal factors, such as the pull factor of consumerism and the desire to buy material goods.

These causes outlined here are only examined briefly, and are no doubt more complex and also interrelated, depending on the place specific situation. The causes mentioned here are evident in the Bolivian context. They will be explained in more detail with a general reference to the phenomenon in Bolivia, in section 1.4. of this chapter. Chapter Five then specifically looks at the reasons children themselves give for working, and causes suggested by other actors.

1.3. Scholarly Research on Child Labour

Academically, child labour can and has been analysed from a social, anthropological, economic, geographic or political perspective; and through its causes, policies, characteristics and ethics. It is as a social construct, giving it multiple definitions that differ between cultural ideas, actors, histories and contexts (Ennew et al, 2005). Studies of child labour have been diverse and widespread, for example, looking at child labour from an economic perspective (see Basu and Van, 1998; Grootaert and Kanbur, 1995); analysing its relationship with schooling and education (see Ravallion and Wodon, 2000; Jensen and Nielsen, 1997); looking at children's experiences (see, Woodhead, 1999); and considering definitional issues (see Bourdillon, 2006; Myers, 1999). More recently, research is starting to look at the positive aspects, as well as the negative, of children working, and is making an increased distinction between working children and child labour, paying particular attention to children's agency (Bourdillon et al, 2010). In short, there are a many multi-disciplinary studies due to the phenomena's multi-faceted nature. However, only a few of these are specifically relevant to this thesis and thus, are examined in more detail in this section.

1.3.1. Conceptualisation and the study of child labour

There has been a proliferation of research on child labour since the 1990s, largely with the widening attention towards children's rights since the advent of the UNCRC (Myers, 1999; Edmonds, 2007). This section will concentrate on how scholars from various disciplines have conceptualised child labour and what issues this has brought, following on from the definitions offered in the previous section. It will also examine what research has been done on the issue to highlight the gap(s) that this thesis will fill.

According to Michael Bourdillon (2006), the concept 'child labour' is problematic and can cover many different forms of work. This has been shown by international definitions

in the previous section. Academically, the various expressions used to describe children that work, such as ‘child labour’ and ‘exploitation’ does not fully account for the different ways children work (Bey, 2003). The concept ‘child labour’, generally, evokes negative connotations. It has often been used in research on harmful industries and suggests economic profit at the expense of children and their wellbeing. The concept of ‘child work’ on the other hand, can suggest a mild form of labour and can include domestic and un-exploitive tasks (ibid). The term child labour has also been shown to be ‘historically imbued with the notion of child abuse’, and thus, carries a strong bias towards the idea that children’s work is harmful and that working children are victims of abuse and exploitation (Holzscheiter, 2016, p.88).

Scholars such as Nieuwenhuys (2005) and Bourdillon et al (2010), critique the conceptualisation and definition of child labour from the global policy perspective, arguing its foundation to be based on ideals and values shaped during the industrial revolution in Europe and North America, and lacking applicability in many parts of the globe today. Morrow (2010) explains how during this industrial period, children went from working (either in the household or paid work) to educational institutions. Thus, the prime role of a child became that of a student and their childhood became dedicated towards education. Thus, the debate began over child labour as being morally and legally wrong (Svensson, 2018).

Different scholars have offered their own definitions of child labour, some of which are in line with how child labour has been framed and defined by the ILO and UNICEF. Weston (2005, p.xv) states that child labour is ‘work done by children that is harmful to them because it is abusive, exploitative, hazardous, or otherwise contrary to their best interests’. Lieten (2002, p.5191) states that child labour is any work by children that ‘interferes with their full-physical development, the opportunities for a desirable minimum of education and of their needed recreation’.

Shifting the focus from child labour to children’s work, Levey (2009) has argued that children’s work is a broader category, to encompass five different activities, based on Tilly and Tilly’s definition of work as ‘any activity that produces transferable use value and/or produces human capital’ (1998, cited in Levey, 2009, p.197). The first is that work is for pay. The second and third occur within the home, work as chores and household tasks and work for a family business. The fourth (based on Qvortrup, 1994) is school

work and the fifth is organised activities, such as after school activities that mainly take place amongst middle classes. The interesting and useful inclusion here is that of school children, which this thesis builds upon in Chapter Five. Omissions from this framing however could include work that is undertaken voluntarily by children, or non-remunerated work that is undertaken in a community setting. Although a fairly limited study, such analysis shows, alongside the categorisations of Levey and Qvortrup, show how child labour and children's work can be conceptualised in different ways, and encompass different activities. Edmonds (2007) provided a comprehensive list (shown in Figure 2 below) of commonly used phrases to describe aspects of how children work, based on a systematic review of over 100 papers. This shows that scholars use multiple ways to describe the various types of children's work.

Class	Term	Definition
<i>SNA Economic Activity</i>		
	Economically active	Participates in the production of economic goods and services or is unemployed and seeking such employment
	Employed	Economically active, excluding the unemployed, but including those temporarily out of work with a formal connection to a job.
	Economic Work	Economically active, excluding the unemployed and those temporarily out of work
	Market oriented economic work	Economically active in in the production of goods or services for the market or barter
	Wage Work	Receives cash or in-kind payments for economic work
	Non-market economic work	Economically active in the production of goods or services for own consumption
		Subcategories:
		Own account production of goods and services
		Own account construction and substantial repair services by owners of dwellings
		Own account collection and gathering activities
	Family Work	Economic work in own or family business or farm
	Market Work	Economic Work
		Subcategories:
		Inside household
		Outside household (sometimes separated into paid and unpaid)
<i>Non-SNA Activities</i>		
	Non-economic work	Participates in productive activities that are outside of the SNA definition of economic activity
		Alternatives: Non-economic activity, non-market household activity, non-market household production
	Community service and volunteer work	Non-economic work provided outside of own household
	Domestic Chores	Provides services provided to own family members
		Alternatives: Household chores, housework (sometimes excludes shopping)
		Subcategories:
		Child and Elder Care
		Cooking
		Cleaning
		Small repairs
		Shopping for household goods and services
	Domestic Work	Non-economic work excluding community service and volunteer work

Figure 2. Commonly used terms as found by Edmonds (2007, p.92). ²²

Relatively recently, Abebe and Bessel (2011) have considered an approach for studying child labour based on three 'meta-perspectives' (cited in Nurhadi, 2015, p. 26). These are the work-free childhood perspective; the socio-cultural perspective; and the political economy perspective. The work-free childhood perspective concludes that not only

²² SNA refers to the direct production of economic goods and services that fall under the United Nations System of national Accounts (SNA). These are economic goods and services whether for the market, barter or own consumption.

should children not work and instead go to school because this is better for their development, but that they are also vulnerable to labour exploitation and harm from work, and that they should be removed from the labour market as to not saturate the market and bring down wages. The socio-cultural perspective suggests that children's work has its own socio-cultural meanings and contexts (Abebe and Bessel, 2011). Children's work should be understood through their own cultural contexts, and children's diversity should also be acknowledged based on their personal characteristics such as age, gender, birth order, and competency to work (Nurhadi, 2015). To abolish child labour would be culturally insensitive. Within this perspective, children and adults should not be seen as distinguishable, but rather their worlds seen as a continuum with children gradually evolving into adults as their competencies develop. This perspective is based on the work of Bourdillon (2006) and Nieuwenhuys (1994). The political economy perspective attempts to understand the macro context of children's lives, and the external forces upon them. This can include ideas about how development programmes, such as education interventions or poverty alleviation programmes can transform children's lives in relation work (either for better or worse). This perspective is based on the work of Katz (2004) and Porter (1996).

If the term child labour is used generally, Bourdillon believes, the connotation of harmfulness is often transferred even to nonthreatening forms of work. It is easier to define the term more precisely with regards to harmful work, such as the ILO definition of the worst forms of child labour. Therefore, care and precision is needed when referring to the work that children do, in order to incorporate the context in which it occurs and what it incurs, and as much as possible remove any negative associations from being inferred. Bourdillon (2006) also believes that difficulty lies in an academic context, as it is difficult for authors to consistently apply such a precise definition, with regards to work in a particular context. It is all the more difficult to ensure that readers will read it in this way. A further difficulty is elaborated by Ennew et al (2005) who argue that in defining child labour, scholars must consider both the benefit of children's rights approaches and the disadvantages of enforcing rigid rights texts.

1.3.2. Recent directions and critiques

Recently, scholarly research is starting to look at the positive aspects, as well as the negative, of children working. Increasingly, a distinction is being made between working

children and child labour. Bourdillon et al (2010) call for a more holistic approach to researching children's work, which may look at positives as well as risks. Morrow (2010) argues that there should be a recognition of the value and contributions children and young people make. This is in line with the increasing involvement and call for including children's voices and acknowledging their agency. I return to this in the next chapter.

This call for a more holistic approach emerged after critique into the approach of international standards to abolish child labour and the practical applications. Bourdillon (2019; 2016) highlights how methods to remove children from child labour situations have either been unsuccessful, resulting in children returning to work shortly after, or in worse off situations than previously, citing this as both disrupting and damaging to their lives. Specifically, he states how programmes to remove children from garment factories in India and Bangladesh, have either resulted in children going back to work once charities and officials have left, or being placed into deeper poverty because there is no other income (Bourdillon, 2016). Levine's study (2011) found similar results from South Africa, whereby the introduction of policies against child labour had the unintended consequence of deepening poverty among children who previously performed seasonal or part time work, rather than improving their lives. Nieuwenhuys (1996) has argued that the methods, either removing children from situations or policy aiming to stop child labour, have made children more vulnerable to exploitation. This is both two-fold, in that trying to remove children is impractical because they need whatever meagre income comes from child labour, but also that the criminalisation of this results in child labour, imprisonments and fines. Added to this argument that denying children work, not only endangers their livelihoods but also denies them agency and opportunities in life (Pankhurst et al, 2015; O'Neill 2013 [cited in Abebe, 2016]).

Abebe (2016) traces comprehensively this body of literature which focusses on valuable work by children, and how children's involvement in work is crucial to the development of their capacities. Jennings et al (2006) write how involvement in work can provide children with opportunities to demonstrate agency, take responsibility and contribute to economic needs of the family. Trying to understand and examine children's agency in relation to work, as well as acknowledging the opportunities provided by such work can reveal the diversity of children's capacities and experiences of work (Abebe, 2016).

Yet, despite the calls of Bourdillon, Morrow, Abebe and Nieuwenhuys, child labour and child work often continue to be used interchangeably in much of scholarly research, largely framed under the negative category of ‘child labour’, without paying much attention to the definitions offered by the ILO or conceptualised by the authors mentioned in this section. Morrow states that this misuse of the concept of ‘child labour’ and interchangeability is due to the lack of scholarly effort to ‘define work, childhood, exploitation and hazard in relation to work’ (Morrow, 2010, p. 439). Both Morrow (ibid) and Bourdillon (2006) recommend that vigilance is needed regarding language and terminology used for working children, as to ensure that no erroneous inferences are made and to foster inclusive and context-specific debate.

Part of this focus on the positive aspects of children’s work is a changing understanding of the different types of work and a recognition that work is a complex phenomenon. This thesis works from the basis of this recognition. Its intention is not to portray work in one light or another, but rather, to create a way forward in how children make sense of the work that they and others do within these debates on child labour. One of the main insights from these recent directions in scholarship that this thesis wants to take on board relates to Abebe’s point (2009) that there is a need to go beyond considering child labour as something to be for or against. Rather, as scholars, we should seek to critically understand ‘the hugely differentiated situations in which children work’ (ibid, p.24). I would also like to add to this, that in order to do so, we should and must include children in this critical understanding, for it is their lives that we are seeking to understand and, potentially, improve.

1.3.4. Work and education, work and family

There are two intersections of children’s work relevant to this thesis, as they emerge as both significant dimensions from the fieldwork and data collected, as well as from child labour discourse and scholarly attention. The first is that of children working and the family, the second is work and education. This section now concentrates on how these intersections are addressed in scholarly research.

Scholarly research on family and child labour focusses on three interrelated dynamics. The first is children working in family businesses. The second is on family income and children’s contribution to it, and the third is on domestic work performed in family

settings. At the beginning of the century, some scholars estimated that 70% of the world's working children engaged in family-based work (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005; O'Donnell, et al., 2002 [cited in Bourdillon et al, 2010]). Children working in family business is commonly split along an urban/rural dichotomy. Studies in the rural setting are commonly focussed on agricultural tasks, roles and responsibilities of working children (Bhalotra and Heady, 2003; Punch, 2001). In urban settings, studies are conducted on similar topics (Burr, 2006; Salmon, 2005; Delap, 2001). Children's work is also studied on how it can contribute or relates with family income, which also overlaps with discussions over children's work and poverty (Aitken et al, 2006; Bey, 2003; Delap, 2001). Finally, there is a burgeoning literature on domestic work, a once previously under researched topic (Gamlin et al, 2015; Jensen, 2015; Blagbrough, 2008; Camacho, 1999). This could be the worker's own family, performing tasks in their own home, or working in extended family or working for a separate family altogether.

Children's work, child labour and education is also another commonly researched intersection which is key to this thesis. Studies commonly look at the relationship between work and education: whether work takes time away from school work, and whether children should be being schooled rather than working. This research is triggered by the ILO's belief of the incompatibility between children's formal education and work, though it does not necessarily prove the ILO's position. After an extensive review of research Ray (2009), for instance, concludes that the literature unanimously agrees that a child's employment is harmful to their learning. Bourdillon et al (2010) strongly disagree, and note that, unlike others, they have included children's views in their research. Woodhead's 1998 book is one such study, finding that children talked about good and bad things about their schooling (much like how they talked about their work life). The Young Lives study has also investigated the impact of child labour on educational attainment, finding that (from their research areas) the impact of child labour on educational attainment in rural areas was negligible, however impeded attainment in urban areas (Marvokonstantis, 2011).²³ While this study was a quantitative one and thus comparisons on the findings between that study and this one would be difficult, Marvokonstantis does attribute the impeded attainment due to the increased opportunity

²³ The Young Lives project is a 15 year longitudinal study on childhood poverty, coordinated by the University of Oxford. It traces the changing lives of 12000 children in Ethiopia, India, Vietnam and Peru. They have produced multiple publications relating to child labour, such as Marvokonstantis (2011) and Krutikova (2009).

to find work in urban areas, and that different types of work affect rates of attainment (although they do not state which).

This section (1.3) has shown how the study of child labour and children's work has received significant scholarly attention. Child labour is not the only term used in the literature to describe the various ways in which children work, as shown by Edmonds (2007). However, according to Holzscheiter (2016) it is the term most imbued with the notion of abuse and harm, and thus has received overwhelming attention compared to children's work. This thesis thus responds to this by attempting to address this imbalance.

1.4. Child Labour in Bolivia

Child labour is considered a relatively widespread phenomenon in Bolivia, often attributed to high poverty levels in the country and a lack of education, both as a cause and consequence. This section of the chapter will explore the situation of child labour in Bolivia in greater detail. It will bring in aspects of the two previous sections of this chapter; policy, discourse and scholarly research. It will first highlight the statistical prevalence of child labour in Bolivia, followed by the relevant policy. It will conclude with a discussion of academic studies that have already been conducted on the issue in Bolivia.

1.4.1. Prevalence of child labour and children's work in Bolivia

The latest official statistics on child labour and children's work in Bolivia paint a complex picture, as shown in Figures 3-7 and Table 2 below. They show that in total, 739,000 children aged 5-17 years old carried out some form of work or work activity, at the last survey in 2016 (INE, 2018). Of these, the statistics state, 296,000 worked in a traditional sense for an employer, and 443,000 carried out activities within the family and social community (ibid). 154,000 children carried out dangerous or hazardous work, although the report does not state if this is combined of traditional employer/employee work and family and community work. Some of these figures are also contradictory. According to the *Ministerio de Justicia*, these statistics represent a 50% reduction in child labour in 8 years between surveys, from 800,000 in 2008 (INE, 2008 and cited in works by Fontana and Grugel, 2017; 2015), to 393,000 in 2016 (MJyTI, n.d.).²⁴ It is unclear how they

²⁴ I am sceptical of these figures and doubt the reduction percentage. I am also not the only one as in Iriarte Villavicencio's article (2019) she also cites the doubt from a representative at UNICEF and

measure the 2016 figure as the official data is only available in either raw form or in press releases. However the higher figure of 800,000 children which worked (and were measured) in 2008, were those that were under the age of 14, and thus defined as child labour according to the ILO as it is below the minimum recommended age. Further complicating the measurements, Law 548 also changed the definition of child labour in 2014, which was then overturned in 2018. A Bolivian journalist puts these differing statistics and potential contradictions down to a 'variation in the methodology and classifications of child labor' (Iriarte Villavicencio, 2019: n.p.).

What the statistics above can tell us, is that child labour (in some form or another) in Bolivia is common and multi-faceted. The numbers can also be manipulated, depending on measures and definitions use. Combined with the figures below, we also see how child labour is not unique to one setting (rural or urban) or industry. Nor are those that partake in work solely undertaking that activity, but rather are combining this with school. In 2008, where the statistics presented were more in depth, an estimated 45% of these working children live in urban areas and 55% in rural areas (INE, 2008). 70% of this work was classified as dangerous (Chambi Mayta, 2017; INE, 2008).²⁵

NNATs. To prove this however would require analysis of both the statistics from the 2008 survey and 2016 survey, which are only available as raw data. In addition, I was told by several members of the Bolivian government during fieldwork (as explained in Chapter Three) that the results of the new survey would be published soon. According to other interviewees they were due to be published in 2016. Yet, as mentioned, only the raw data exists and figures in a couple of press releases.

²⁵ As those that work in the rural areas are more likely to be doing so for family and/or the community, and since this type of work tends to be hidden within family and private spaces, these numbers are probably higher. To this, it has to be added the fact that over 80% of the Bolivian economy is informal - unregistered, unmonitored, not taxed etc. - and therefore of this family and community type (Chambi Mayta, 2017; Goldstein, 2016). The following Figure(s) below show more of the multi-faceted nature of this work.

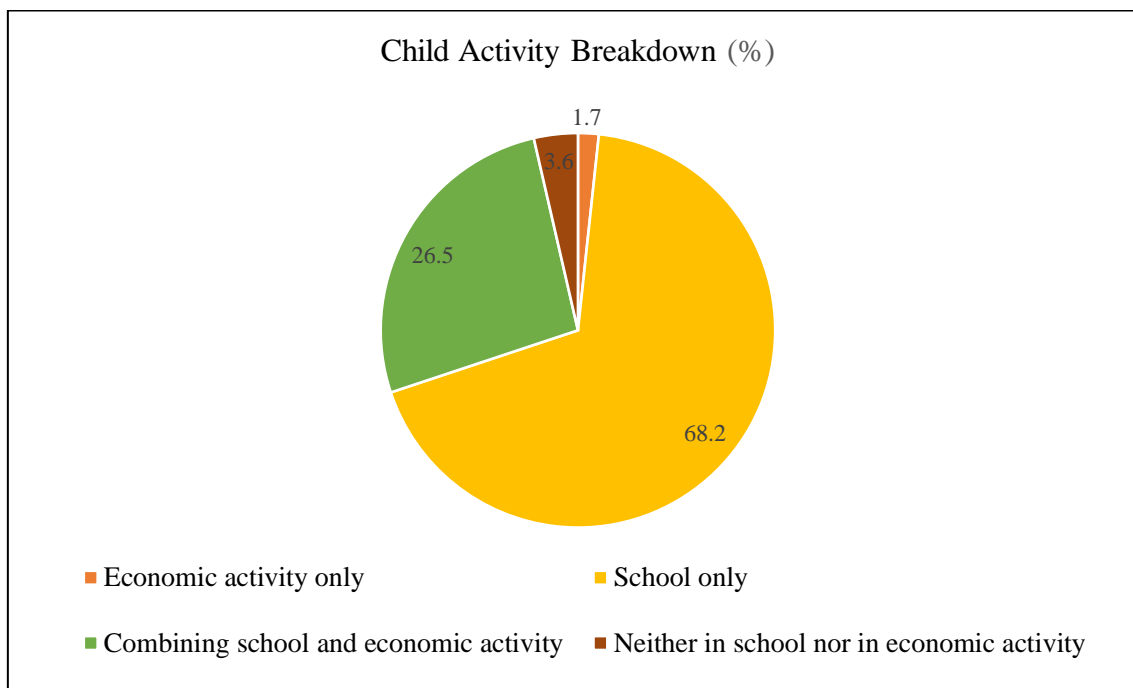


Figure 3. Child activity breakdown in Bolivia for 5-14 year olds (%). Source: INE, 2008. Adapted by author.

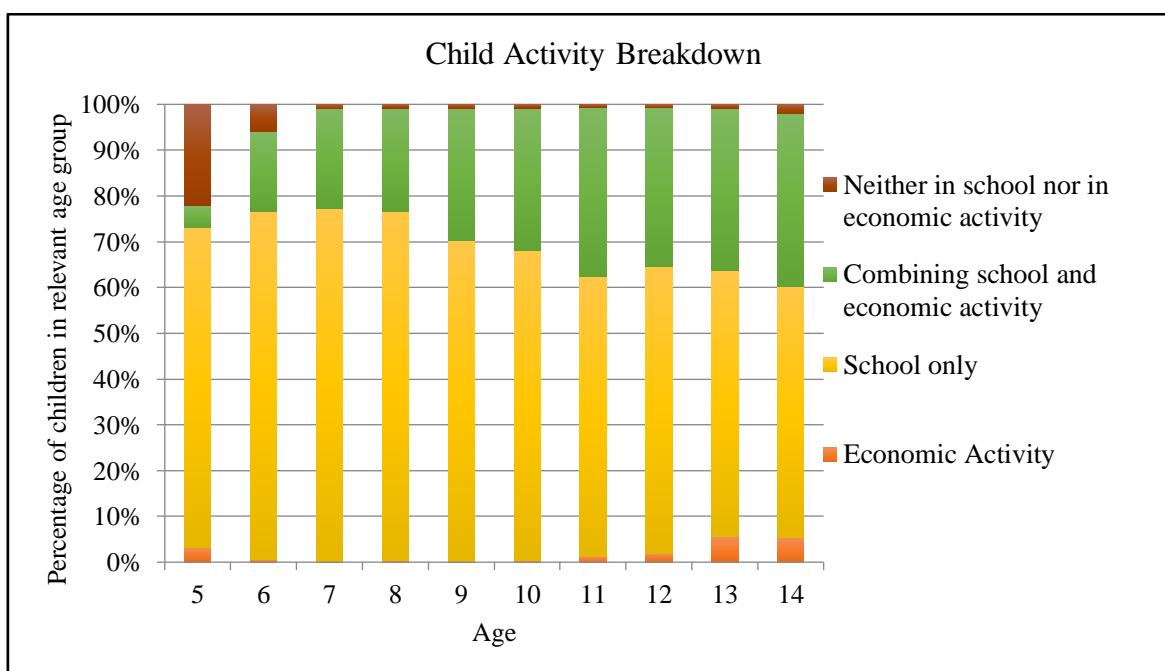


Figure 4. Child activity breakdown by age (%). Source: INE, 2008. Adapted by author.

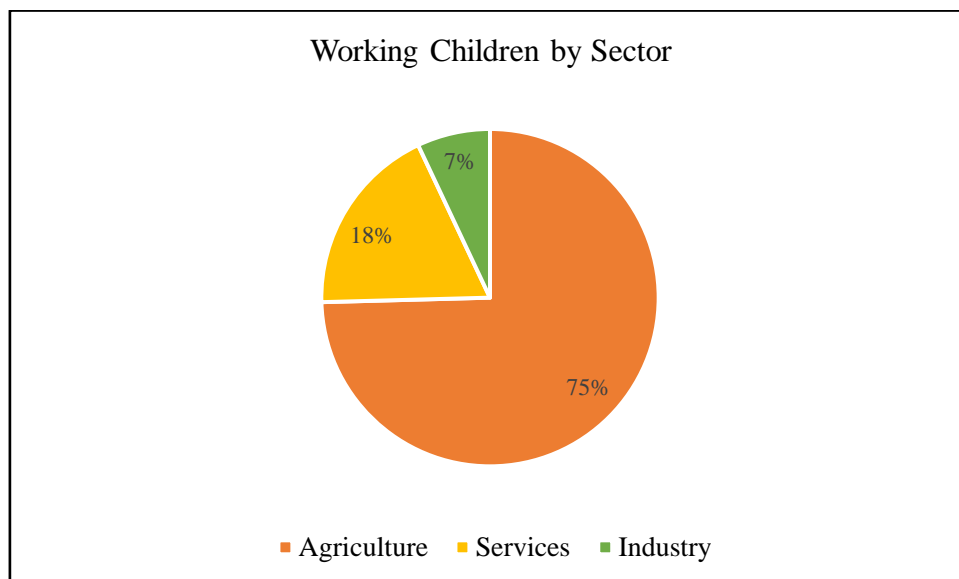


Figure 5. Working children by sector for 5-14 year olds (%). Source: INE, 2008. Adapted by author.

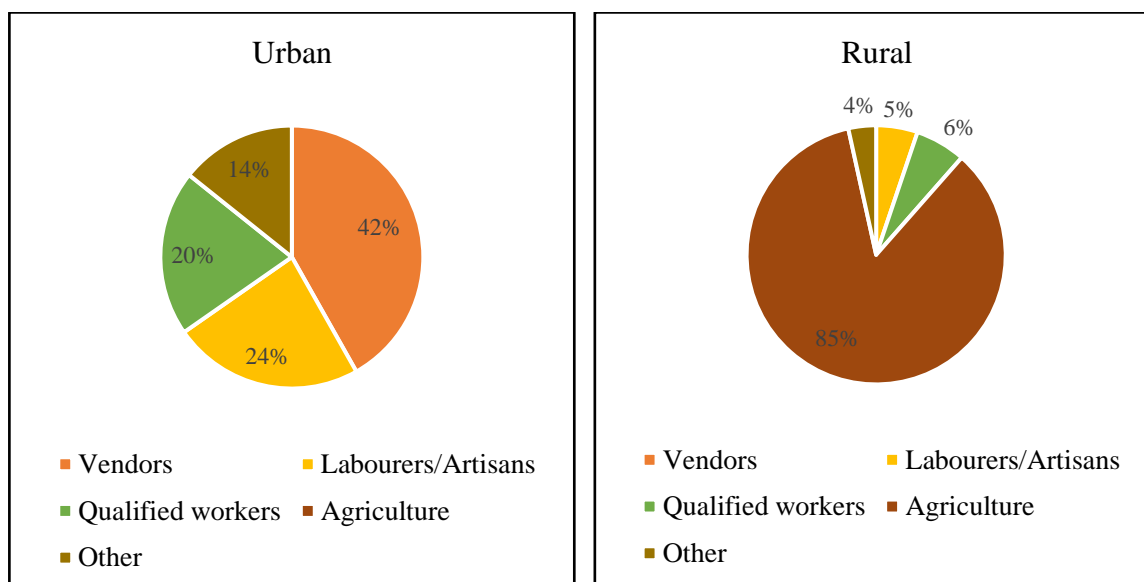


Figure 6. Working children by sector in urban and rural areas for 5-14 year olds (%). Source: INE, 2008. Adapted by author.

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Agriculture	Planting and harvesting corn, cotton and peanuts Production and harvesting of chestnuts and sugarcane Looking after various animals, including feeding and herding
Industry	Mining of gold, silver, tin and zinc Construction Brick production
Services	Street vending and performing (juggling) Shoe shining Transport operators (conducting and collecting fares) Cleaning cemeteries and hospitals Domestic work Restaurant work
Worst Forms of Child Labour	Forced labour in ranching and in the production and harvesting of nuts and sugarcane Forced begging Forced labour in mining Forced labour in domestic service Commercial sexual exploitation, sometimes as a result of human trafficking Forced illicit activities, including robbery and producing or transporting drugs

Table 2. Common work types by sector. Source: INE, 2008. Adapted by author.



Figure 7. Employee situation of 5-17 year olds in Bolivia. Source: INE, 2008. Adapted by author.²⁶

* the manager category was not an exact 0%, but rather 0.06% (national average) and had been rounded down. This equates to approximately 500 children.

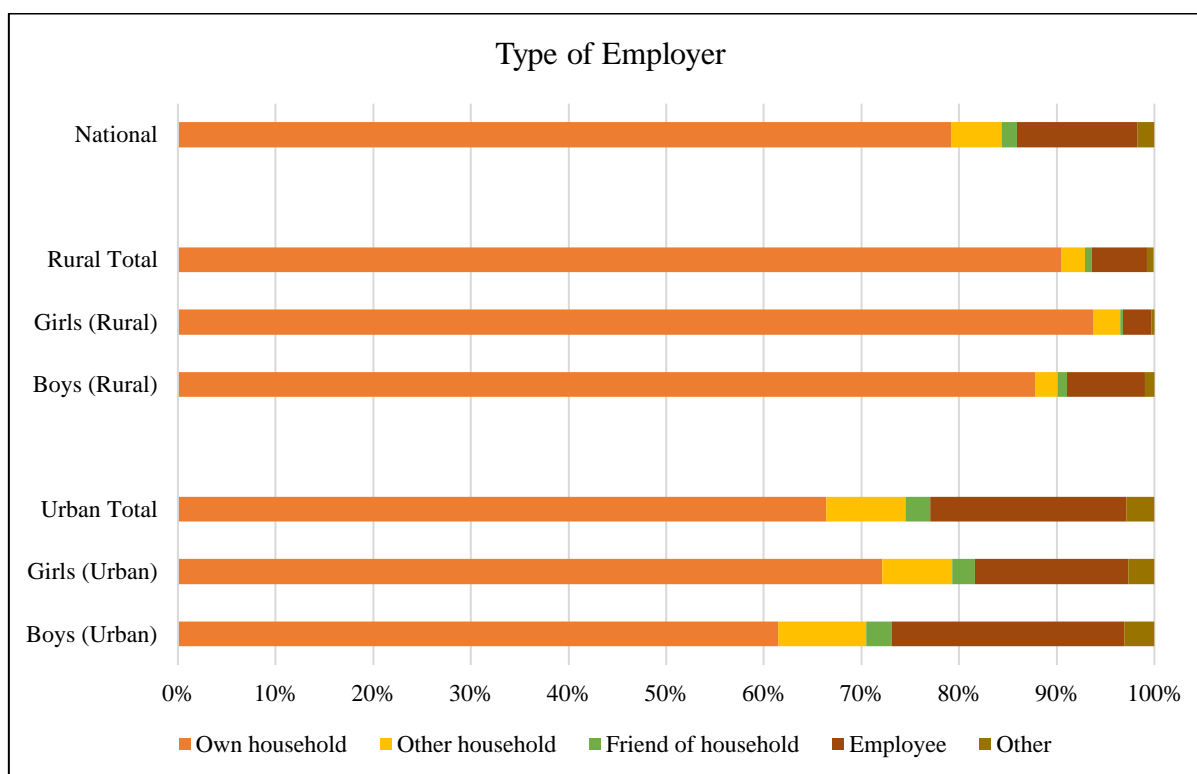


Figure 8. Type of Employer of 5-17 year olds working. Source: INE, 2008. Adapted by author. 27

The above tables and graphs (Figures 3-8 and Table 2) show the dynamics of child work and child labour in Bolivia. Figures 3 and 4 show that many children combine work and schooling, which gradually increases as the child gets older. Even with that, more children only attend school than combine schooling and work. Very few children just work. Figures 5 and 6 show that there are various types of work that are undertaken, which differs between rural and urban areas. By far the largest sector is agricultural work. Agricultural work, however, covers many different roles and tasks. In urban areas, work is predominantly split between industry and services, again incorporating many different roles and activities. Table 2 shows examples of the types of work undertaken in each of these categories. Figure 7 shows how the majority of children work within a family setting, in a family business. This decreases slightly (however still in the majority) in urban settings, where more children are self-employed. Unsurprisingly, girls are more likely to perform domestic work. Figure 8 shows that of those employed, the majority, both nationally across urban and rural settings, are more likely to be employed within

26 One could argue that the categories of being an employee, working in a family business or as a domestic worker overlap significantly. It is not clear from the report how they distinguished between these.

27 The other category they define as including workers in the energy sector, financial services, business services, public administration, education, social, community and home services. How this differs from the employee category is unclear. I would guess that those in this employee category would be found in smaller businesses, such as shops, restaurants and street vending.

their own household. In urban areas, the percentage being employed outside of households (for a third party business) goes up.

Poverty, and migration caused by poverty, are seen as one of the common causes of child labour in Bolivia (ILO, 2014b). During the second half of the twentieth century, 62% of Bolivia's rural population moved to urban areas, and the population of under 18-year olds increased by 20% (INE, 2001). This was encouraged by the belief of progress, development and modernity attached to urban areas (ILO, 2014b). In reality, urban spaces offered low paid, insecure and informal sector employment.

Bolivia's modern economy is also viewed as a cause of poverty and thus child labour. As the prologue to this thesis touched upon, Bolivia has a high dependence on the production and export of raw materials such as natural gas, soy, zinc, tin and petroleum, which has resulted in low industrial development (Kohl and Farthing, 2012). In addition, the peasant economy and small agricultural commodity production is based on family labour, which incorporates and often requires the unpaid labour of children. In an urban setting family business units are very common and also incorporate children who work. Coster (2010) cites 1980s neoliberal inspired privatisation of national industries as a cause of child labour, whereby thousands of adults were forced out of the workforce due to restructuring and cost cutting. Slowly, children entered the workforce as a cheaper alternative. These causes of children working however, only really touch the surface, and point to external factors. The economic cause of children working, and the relationship between work and family is something that Chapters Four and Five will examine.

1.4.2. Laws, definitions and policy in Bolivia

There are several Bolivian policies relevant to the situation of child labour in the country. The most recent Bolivian constitution (2009) set a condition to safeguard against child labour, prohibiting forced work and child labour. However, the constitution does allow for activity within the family, provided it is directed to the child's 'full development as citizens' (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2009, n.p). A new law, titled *Código del Niño, Niña y Adolescente* (Law 548), was passed in 2014 and lowered the working age for children. Children could effectively work from the age of 10, with some provisions.²⁸ Law 548 was ratified on 17th June 2014 and was the first law in relation to child labour

²⁸ Although the revisions of the Law put an end to this (Liebel, 2019).

in the world to have been created with involvement from children (Liebel, 2015). The code covers all aspects of children's lives, from schooling and health, to work and family (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2014). What is more, the law not only sets out children's rights, but also their duties (ibid). The role of enforcing this code is down to an ombudsmen service, *Las Defensorías de la Niñez y Adolescencia* (Commissioners for Children's Rights).

In relation to work the law to work is over 10 pages long, but the key points are that:²⁹

- Children between 10 and 12 can only work as self-employed or for family members, whereas children over 12 years of age can work for a third party employer;
- Children working between the ages of 10 and 14 must seek approval from *Las Defensorías*, if they are self-employed, or 12 and 14 if they work for someone else. How to do this, however, is unclear and unbeknown to many. This approval is also dependent on a comprehensive medical examination;
- Children over 14 must receive an equivalent minimum monthly wage (which could be paid daily, weekly or monthly), no less than that earned by adults (the national minimum is currently around US\$250 per month). From the interviews conducted however, this is not strictly followed. The law does not mention a minimum wage for under 14s;
- Children under the age of 14s cannot work a day longer than 6 hours, and can only work to a maximum of 30 hours a week. Those over 14 must not work a work day longer than 8 hours, and a work week of over more than 40 hours. Working days must not go on later than 10 p.m;
- Employees are entitled to two hours paid study time;
- All children, working or not, must attend school;
- The law prohibits children from working in industries which may affect health, such as in sugar cane plantations, mining, brick factories, the sale of alcoholic beverages, and rubbish collection. Other work that is illegal includes anything of a sexual nature or that is dangerous, unhealthy or threatening to the dignity and integrity of children;
- 18 is the minimum age for any hazardous work;

²⁹ It is unclear how this section of the law would now look with the 2018 revisions.

- Work in a family or community setting is permitted at any age, as a recognition of the indigenous culture that is practiced in many rural areas.

Law 548 went directly against the ILO's position on the recommended minimum age for employment, but Bolivia's position is that it can help alleviate extreme poverty and also protect children's rights (Chambi Mayta, 2017). Children themselves have campaigned through unions in favour of the law (ibid). The law also seems to contradict the constitution. However, the constitution does not specify the age range for a child, whereas the new code does. The constitution seemingly defends work or 'activity' so long as it is directed towards the child's development as 'citizens'. The constitution defines a legal status of citizenship as birth or naturalization. Citizens can exercise their citizenship rights from the age of 18, consisting of voting, standing for election and exercising public functions.

In 2017 the Bolivian Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal ruled that allowing children as young as 10 to be self-employed and 12 year olds to be employed under certain conditions, to be unconstitutional (US DoL, 2017). This would put their laws more in line with international standards.³⁰ In 2019, it was reported by Liebel that Bolivia had actually backtracked completely on the law, after pressure from the ILO. Amendments, he writes, were that 'all legal protections for working children under the age of 14 were removed, which amounts to a general ban. The code's provisions and guarantees relating to labour law are now limited to adolescents between the ages of 14 and 18' (ibid: n.p).

Whilst the law was in effect, the enforcement and management of the law came under much criticism, due to a lack of institutional capacity related to funding, as was briefly mentioned earlier. To elaborate, this lack of capacity translated into staff being unsure of what their role was to the extent where it was unclear whether families should go to them to register the work of 10-14 year olds, or whether they should do outreach.³¹ Some municipalities in Bolivia also did not have a *defensoría* office at all. The requirements of the law were difficult to fulfil in practice by *Las defensorías* (Liebel, 2019).

³⁰ This is Sentence 0025/2017 of the Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal. The only place that I have been able to find that references this is the US Department of Labor (2017). The Tribunal's website (<https://buscador.tcpbolivia.bo/>) does not show any results, strangely.

³¹ This was discussed in interviews with Paul and Rupert (interviewees explained in Chapter Three). US DoL (2017) also reported on this, however their document has since updated with the amendments.

As the Introduction to this thesis mentioned, Bolivia has a lively and effective civil society, one sub section of which is active around child labour (Fontana and Grugel, 2015; Fontana, 2013). Alongside NGOs that act for working children, there are also organisations of working children known as *Niños Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores* (NNATs). Some NGOs have taken the side of the ILO in the debate on child labour and have campaigned for the eradication of child labour, citing the *Vivir Bien* ‘Live Well’ paradigm (Fontana and Grugel, 2015). On the other side of the argument are the NNATs, representing working children themselves, who voiced support for Law 548. The campaigning of the NNATs and the new code implemented by the Bolivian government are evidence of the actions that play out the debates over child labour in Bolivia. The NNATs are explored in much greater detail in Chapter Four.

1.4.3. Scholarly Research on and from Bolivia

There has been previous research conducted on the topic of child labour in Bolivia by other academics, some of which has already been referenced. An early paper is from Psacharopoulos (1997) who investigated child labour and educational attainment in Bolivia (as well as Venezuela), using household survey data from 1990, finding that working children contributions to total household income were significant, and that repeating school years is commonly associated with those children that work. The situation in Bolivia was obviously drastically different at that time, notably being several years before Bolivia ratified ILO C.138 and C.192. Education at this time was also only compulsory up until 13 years of age. More recently, Zapata et al (2010) conducted a similar study, looking at work and education and the determinants of gender and ethnicity. The quantitative study found that girls are 51% more likely than boys to be working and not attending school, mostly in domestic activities. They also found that indigenous children are 60% more likely than non-indigenous children to be working and not attending school. Grigoli and Sbrana (2013) investigate the elements of primary school enrolment, attendance, and child labour in Bolivia from 1999 to 2007. They found that school enrolment increased during this period, especially among urban indigenous children. However child labour did not reduce over time, according to the study. These studies were quantitative in focus, whereas this thesis is not.

Punch has conducted extensive research on the topic, with a rural focus (2004; 2002a; 2002b; 2001; 2000). Her 2002a paper looked at school to work transitions and how rural

children make decisions in relation to these, which are heavily dependent on interdependent household relations, commonly achieving greater economic independence than many children in the minority world. Punch's 2004 paper looked at structural constraints of primary education impact upon young people's school-to-work transitions, finding that despite enjoyment of primary school, it is unlikely to increase future livelihoods for children, and instead migration is an attractive option. Her 2000, 2001 and 2002b papers also touched upon the topic of work in relation to time and play, examining how children negotiate autonomy and independence in the face of structural and societal constraints.

Henne and Moseley (2005) have written a short article on Bolivia's attempts to tackle the worst forms of child labour. This was written pre-Morales, but focusses on the mining industry and child sex workers. They believe that a comprehensive approach from the state based on raising awareness, creating safety nets and training of rights advocates for children would help reduce incidences.

Most recently work has come from Liebel (2015; 2012) and Fontana and Grugel (2017; 2015), who have been largely been inspired by similar issues to those of interest to this thesis, that is, working children's organisations and Law 548. Liebel's 2012 book presents new perspectives on children's rights, drawing heavily on the working children's movements in Bolivia. His 2015 paper analyses the new law, framing it as a unique legislative approach which includes working children. Fontana and Grugel's 2015 paper framed the debate over child labour in Bolivia (prior to the publication of the new code) as a debate between the legalisation and eradication of child labour. Their 2017 paper looked at the 'deviant' nature of the new code in relation to compliance with ILO standards. In a similar vein, van Daalen and Mabillard (2019) study the encounter between working children's movements from Latin America and EU and ILO staff, with specific reference to the assessment given by those organisations on Law 548. Chambi Mayta (2017), a Bolivian activist and academic, published an article which focuses on the 2014 Bolivian legislation on child labour and its application in specific indigenous communities. He argues that the 2014 law is insufficient in addressing child labour exploitation.

There is also a plethora of grey literature research on the topic, written and published by several NGOs and CSOs. CEDLA, a research institute in La Paz have written several

publications that touch on the topic.³² *‘Un Futuro en Riesgo’* (2015) looks at the labour market of young people (15-24 years) and their work in El Alto. UNICEF have been involved in several reports (2014, 2004). Alongside the Bolivian Ministry of Work, the ILO and some other institutions wrote a 2014 report about child domestic work in third party homes in Bolivia (ILO, 2014b). UNICEF have written about the characteristics and conditions of child labour in Bolivia, back in 2004. IREWOC, along with Plan International (2009) have written about rural child labour in Andean countries, problems and solutions. This covered some aspects of Bolivian rural child labour, which thus overlooks urban children.

Thus, from this brief review of literature on the issue of child labour in Bolivia, we can deduce several areas for further research which could address deficiencies in the current literature. The gaps identified are that there is insufficient research on children working in an urban context in Bolivia, little identified research on children who combine work and school. In addition, there is opportunity for research that engages directly with children themselves as participants or researchers, to hear and understand their voices. While some of the literature does discuss both education and work, this is usually focussed around attainment and what detriment work causes, leaving opportunity to understand children’s perspectives on combining work and school. Although Punch engages directly with children, this is in a rural setting and was obviously prior to the 2014 law. The contemporary work in the previous paragraph, also engages with children in a very limited way. Liebel, Daalen and Mabillard engage with organised working children around Law 548 and the movement of working children. Ultimately however, this leaves non-organised children as unresearched and not consulted. The new law did indeed encourage new research, while most of the above research focusses children who work through the lens of child labour, and, as the previous sections of this chapter has shown, this can have negative connotations with little attention paid to the perspectives of working children themselves and how they see their work.

1.5. Chapter Discussion

Thus far this chapter has explored the concept and issue of child labour, focussing on how it has been defined and how it has been studied. In the process, it has raised several questions and proposes several points of discussion, which will now be addressed.

³² I was based at this institute for the fieldwork, as explained in Chapter Three.

What child labour is, what it constitutes, and how it is defined is complex. It differs based on legal definitions, how it is operationalised and measured, and depending on the scale at which it is applied. This chapter has attended to both international and national levels, and explored both the policy and scholarly context. There are clearly distinct types of work that children do, not all of which is classed or measured as child labour. This depends on detriment, hazards and age to name but a few. There are differing definitions in academic work and in international policy and standards, as well as at the national level. Child labour is the most commonly used term to refer to work performed by children and is imbued with the notion of abuse, harm and exploitation (Holzscheiter, 2016).

This chapter also touched upon debates over the rights and wrongs of child labour, with two viewpoints emerging. These viewpoints were evident across both policy and global discourse as well as in scholarly literature. The first is that child labour is fundamentally wrong and should be abolished. This is the argument and position that the ILO and related organisations take and is evident in the conventions and standards. The second is that children do work in the majority of the world and, in some instances, should be allowed to, and thus should be protected. This viewpoint is supported by some scholars, as well as working children's organisations such as NNATs in Bolivia. Scholars such as Bourdillon et al (2010) and Morrow (2010) are critical of international discourse and argue that these conventions and standards do not represent the reality of the majority of children worldwide. They argue that these conventions are primarily influenced by political and economic interests rather than efforts to adequately ensure children's wellbeing.

These viewpoints are based on perceptions of how childhood should be, or vice versa that, from these two standpoints derive suggestions about how childhoods should be. From the abolitionist approach, the claim is that education and leisure should be at the core of childhood, not work. The other standpoint argues that work is an acceptable part of childhood and might not only be essential for survival, but can also be valuable. Ideals of work-free childhood are also invoked to portray the lives of working children in terms of pity and exploitation (Abebe and Bessell 2011). These debates and relation to childhoods are brought through Chapter Four and Chapter Five. As to how childhood has previously been conceptualised and studied, this is the focus of the next chapter. Certain

norms are perpetuated by certain actors; the ILO and other abolitionists want to sustain certain ideas about childhood as being free from work – or as a ‘normal’ childhood.

Another point of discussion raised from this chapter is the attention that child labour gets, both in international discourse and in scholarly research. The focus is often on contexts in the Global South, and child labour is often framed as a predominately Southern problem (Wyness, 2013). Of course, this thesis is also looking at a Global South country, and not one of the Global North. However, it is important to note that this research does not seek to add to a negative view of child labour, or frame it as a Southern problem. Rather, it seeks to explore how children think of their own and others’ work and see how that might open up debate and challenge common conceptions.

Linked to this is something else that has been ignored, namely, children’s viewpoints on the issue of work. The Bolivian case also adds to the discussions around voice and representation, and children’s say in their situations. Critics have pointed out that children’s voices have been ignored in the development of child labour interventions, policies and recommendation. How work, child labour and other associated concepts are understood by children (some of them working) has barely been looked at by institutions and academics. Thus, this will be examined in much greater detail in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

The last point of discussion to mention is the intersectionality of children’s work with poverty, livelihood circumstances, gender, culture, and social and economic contexts. These intersections have been tentatively addressed in this chapter and such intersections have become central in scholarly literature (Klocker, 2014; Levine, 2011; Bourdillon et al. 2010 [cited in Abebe, 2016]). In global policy and discourse however, the specific contexts and circumstances of children receive less attention, or is rather focussed on poverty alleviation towards the family and how that will automatically remove children from child labour situations, leaving out children’s own agency. In addition, children’s participation in cultural or social practices is deemed inferior to, for example, their civic and political participation (Abebe, 2016).

1.6. Chapter Summary and Conclusions

This chapter began with a global perspective of child labour and children’s work, narrowing down to examine the Bolivian context of the phenomenon. The three areas of

(a) child labour as a global issue and in a policy context; (b) academic studies of child labour; and finally (c) child labour in the Bolivian context (which uses policy, statistics, academic study) were discussed.

This chapter finishes with the proposition that child labour and child work (and consequently child labourers and child workers) are two different phenomena, yet so often are commonly intertwined, misrepresented and used inter-changeably. This thesis focusses and aims to explore the concepts of child work and working children, but in the context of the misunderstood phenomena and debates dominated by the term child labour. It is across this boundary, between children's work and child labour that this thesis sits. Work, which depending on context, opinion and policy, can be considered 'child labour', however this is a very specific type of work, one bound up in negative connotations of harm and exploitation. Henceforth the thesis will refer to both children's work and child labour. The debates are centred on child labour because of connotations of harm, yet the thesis tries to go beyond this by looking at work in a more general, all-encompassing way and away from a negative light. The point of this thesis is not to provide new terms or definitions, or pick apart the ones that already exist – although it has in part done this in this chapter already. Rather, it is about what children's understandings and perspectives on work can contribute to these debates.

This chapter also highlights and contributes to, two of the main arguments that this thesis makes that were originally outlined in the Introduction. Firstly, the category of child labour is not very helpful for understanding children who work in the context of this research, because it is too broad a label and because of negative connotations attached to the term. Secondly, it is not helpful, whether intentionally or unintentionally, that in much of academic and policy discourses on children working, children's perspectives on work are not taken into account.

The next chapter turns our attention to the literature and theory that underpins this research, which, as previously mentioned, includes childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights. It also outlines the conceptual framework borrowed from these three bodies of literature, and is concentrated on three somewhat interrelated notions of citizenship and rights (the primary concepts to put it another way), supported by the field of childhood studies.

Chapter Two. Childhood Studies, Children's Citizenship and Children's Rights

2.1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter critically reviews the literature and theoretical background that underpin this thesis in order to present the conceptual framework it is built on. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, there are three main, interrelated bodies that inform this research: the social studies of childhood; children's citizenship; and children's rights. There are numerous studies concerned with children within geography, sociology and international development. The three bodies of literature discussed in this chapter cut across and intersect with subject areas and disciplines. Only a small section of these studies are concerned with children who work. Even smaller still is the number of studies concerned with children who work in the context of Bolivia. Whilst each body of literature is examined separately, it is acknowledged by some scholars that each builds upon the other. Arce (2015) explains how rights is one thread of childhood studies. I would add that both rights and citizenship are threads of the broader fabric of childhood studies.

The social study of childhood, also commonly known and hereafter referred to as childhood studies, is a common starting point when studying children who work; children's citizenship and children's rights less so. Using children's rights to look at children's work is on the increase, however. The chapter will explore the childhood studies literature first, as it provides a comprehensive grounding for the second body of literature on children's citizenship. Furthermore, the second and third bodies of literature – children's citizenship and rights – share many of the terms and assumptions of childhood studies. Put together, all three bodies of literature can help shed light on how we can understand, research and conceptualise children and their lives. Throughout this chapter, how children have been studied in Bolivia as well as the wider Andean and Latin American regions will also be reviewed.³³

As recommended by many scholars, a literature review should cover current and historical literature, landmark studies and central debates as well as key concepts (Hart, 2018; Bryman, 2016). It should also be critical and evaluative of the merits and limitations

³³ This differs slightly from the literature discussed in Chapter One, although adds to it, in that this chapter is more concerned with childhood more broadly, and not just associated with work.

of existing scholarship. Therefore, this chapter serves two main purposes. The first is to critically review previous and current scholarly literature from these bodies, and to identify gaps that the research will engage with. The second is to set out the theoretical framework used to analyse and pin the empirical data against. The chapter is split into four main sections: (1) social constructions of childhood in childhood studies, (2) children's citizenship, (3) children's rights and (4) a discussion and presentation of the conceptual framework.

2.2. Childhood Studies and Childhood as a Social Construction

Although not a strict binary, the academic study of children and childhood can be divided into two categories: childhood as a social construction and childhood development as studied through biology and psychology. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with childhood as a social construction, in order to review such literature, it is important to acknowledge how other disciplines study childhood,. These studies, such as child psychology and biology, view children and certain aspects of childhood as a natural phenomenon, and study behavioural and developmental aspects. According to the social constructivist approach, definitions of childhood have varied over space and time, varied as part of social, historical and cultural contexts, and undergone substantial paradigm shifts (Skelton, 2007; Valentine, 1996). Ansell (2016), who follows a social constructivist approach, has noted that emphasis on the social notions of childhood have overlooked biological and physiological facts that constrain and shape children's lives. She argued, therefore, that accounts of childhood must sensitively discuss a combination of social and biological factors, in order to understand childhood fully. Childhood studies, however, concentrates on social factors and influences, as summarised succinctly by Jenks (1982, p.12) in the following manner:

Childhood is to be understood as a social construct, it makes reference to social status delineated by boundaries incorporated within the social structure and manifested through certain forms of conduct, all of which are related to a particular cultural setting.

This section will first look at early work in childhood studies, and its hints towards childhood being understood as a social construct, before concentrating on the new sociology of childhood, a significant contemporary paradigm shift in this literature.

Finally, most recent discussions of childhood in a global context, and as a binary between the Global North/South are addressed.

2.2.1. Early work and historical perspectives

Early scholarly work and historical perspectives are discussed in this section, both from recent scholars examining historical perspectives, and perspectives from scholars throughout historical periods. The purpose of referring to these is to examine the foundations that contemporary childhood studies were built upon.

The nature of children was already debated during the Enlightenment period in the 17th and 18th centuries by philosophers such as Hobbes, Rousseau and Locke. Debate existed over whether children were inherently bad or evil, or good and innocent. These views, according to Nurhadi (2015) were heavily influenced by religious and Romantic discourses. Hobbes viewed children as evil and in need of purification, which was the role of the father, as inspired by the Puritan tradition (Archard, 1993). Locke on the other hand believed that children were neutral, with natures that could be shaped by ideas. Similarly to Hobbes, it was up to the parents to shape them, but in Locke's view parents had the social responsibility to ensure that children became mature and responsible citizens (Kehily, 2008). On the opposite side of the spectrum, Rousseau viewed children as naturally innocent (Gittin, 1998). Like Locke, Rousseau viewed children as in need of an education, as they were weak, powerless and unable to reason, which speaks to the competencies of children. From such work, terms such as evil, innocence, maturity, and responsibility, among others, were attached to children.

2.2.2. Twentieth century theorisations onwards

From the twentieth century onwards, there have been an increasing number of conceptions and studies of childhood. Postman (1982) argues that with the 20th century came sharper definitions and distinctions between childhood and adulthood. Three theoretical approaches became widespread: developmental psychology, socialisation theory and the social studies of childhood, now commonly referred to as childhood studies. It is this last approach that is most relevant to this study because of its popularity, inspiration and uptake.

According to Woodhead (2009), developmental psychology was the dominant paradigm for understanding children in the early twentieth century. The work of Piaget, Tonkin and Danziger are discussed by Prout and James (2015) as being influential on this paradigm. The paradigm was grounded on assumptions of the 'naturalness' and 'universality' of childhood, which come from the biological view of childhood (ibid, p.11). The biological effects of life and infancy were used to explain the social facts of childhood with little account taken of any cultural aspect (ibid). Child transformation into adulthood can be traced through stages relating to their age, physical development and cognitive ability (Kehily, 2008). The merits and deficiencies of this include the paradigm lacking any historical perspective or current social and cultural contexts, and viewing children as potential subjects, whereby their current lives are understood only as preparation for becoming an adult (Walkerdine, 2009). On the other hand, Corsaro (2015, p.10) argues that social studies of childhood owe much to the stages in child development, because it allows us to understand that children 'perceive and organize their worlds in ways qualitatively different from the ways of adults'.

Child socialisation theory built upon the same foundation as developmental psychology: the idea of a naturally developing child. This theory inspired the sociological study of childhood. James et al (1998) define socialisation as a concept to explain the process through which children learn to conform to social norms, and as such, a child's individual personality can reflect the characteristics of the society it lives in. Both socialisation theory and developmental psychology have in common similar views of childhood, presenting children as adults in the making (Walkerdine, 2009; Mayall, 2002). However, developmental psychology has mainly been interested in children as individuals, while socialisation theory is more interested in children as a social group (Kehily, 2008). Criticisms and limitations, as summarised by Matthews (2007), include the manner in which children are presented as homogenous and that they are presented as passive recipients of culture.

One last significant work that inspired the most recent paradigm shift in childhood studies is Aries' *Centuries of Childhood* (1962). Aries' work conceptualised childhood as a social and cultural construction, shaped by large-scale historical forces. Aries writes that the idea of childhood did not exist during medieval society, arguing that the concept of childhood emerged during medieval Europe, when children were seen as small adults with specific attributes ascribed to them, such as playing. As Prout and James (2003)

argue, Aries stimulated more work in relation to childhood, not just contemporarily, but looking back towards the history of childhood and how it had been conceptualised, which often involved others critiquing his work.³⁴

Later in this chapter I look at conceptions of childhood in Latin America, although as that part will show, this literature is thin compared to that with a Western focus. Children have also overwhelmingly been viewed as potential subjects or adults in the making, ignoring their present-day contributions. In more general terms, however, this work has led to the most recent paradigm and grounding of the majority of contemporary studies on children and childhood: the new sociology of childhood.

2.2.3. New sociology of childhood

The new sociology of childhood, also referred to as the new social studies of childhood (NSC), is the most recent paradigm shift and most relevant to this research – that children can and should be viewed as active participants as opposed to passive recipients in their lives and society (Matthews, 2007). As previously mentioned, within the social science disciplines, childhood currently is best understood as a social construction rather than a natural phenomenon, but as to what this social construction of childhood constitutes is hotly debated (Skelton, 2007; Prout and James, 2003; Jenks, 1996). This is largely due to the proliferation of the NCS. Matthews (2007) has written a succinct article as a ‘window’ into this body of literature. She cites Jenks (1992), James and Prout (1990) and Qvortrup et al (1994) amongst others as key pieces of work at the beginning of this paradigm shift. Whilst this paradigm has taken off since the late 1980s, at the onset, there were still strands of development and socialisation approaches that argued against differing social constructions of childhood, Richards and Light (1986) being an example of this.

The recognition that childhood is socially constructed has led to an enhanced awareness of the social context within which sociological processes related to children take place, and that the meanings attached to the categories ‘child’ and ‘childhood’ might differ across time or in space. The emergence of the NSC, which develops further the idea of childhood as a social construction and which views children as social and political actors and agents, has led to an increase in the research on children and childhood across multiple disciplines (Matthews, 2007; James and Prout, 2003). The perspective that sees

³⁴ For example, Corsaro (2011) and Gittens (2004) have written about Aries’ work.

children as social and political actors suggests that they have agency to both shape and be shaped by their world. Agency suggests that children have the capacity to choose to do things and participate socially and politically. Agency, especially in relation to children, will be discussed further at the end of this chapter, as part of the conceptual framework.

The NSC has aimed to de-marginalise the position children hold in social science research, analyse childhood within socio-political contexts and encourage the investigation of the multiple meanings of childhood through social and cultural variables, time and space (Diana, 2016). In engaging with children, the NSC has also aimed to study children as agents, as social beings and as co-creators of their own positions in society (James et al, 1998; Caputo 1995). Other key aspects of this paradigm were summarised by Tisdall and Punch (2012), Holt and Holloway (2006) and Prout and James (1990). These are:

- Childhood is understood as a social construction;
- Childhood is a variable of social analysis;
- Children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right;
- Children are and must be seen as active (agents) in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them, and of the societies in which they live;
- Ethnography is a particularly useful methodology for the study of childhood;
- Listening to children and young people;
- Valuing children and young people's participation in both society and research about them;
- Proclaiming a new paradigm of childhood is also part of reconstructing childhood in society.

One vital contribution of the NSC in relation to this thesis is the insight that the notion of childhood changes dramatically depending on social context (Honwana and De Boeck, 2005). Variables such as class, religion, gender, race and ethnicity affect how individual children experience childhood, and their exposure to work, school, play and responsibilities, as well as their transition into the next life phase (ibid; James and Prout, 1997). The NSC literature argues that these variables are intrinsically linked to and thus inseparable from the social construction of childhood (Prout and James, 2015; Prout and

James, 2003). Thus, there is a spatial and temporal dimension to the notion of childhood, as it can vary across and within societies and cultures over time, as well as with various intersectionalities (Benzon and Wilkinson, 2019; Honwana and De Boeck, 2005). Thus, in relation to this research, the NSC suggests and helps us understand that childhoods in Bolivia are different to other contexts, and even within Bolivia, depending on different intersectionalities. Of specific relevance to this research is the exposure to work, school and responsibilities which are to be considered.

However, one drawback to the NSC is that by drawing upon multiple disciplines, the research literature is vast, and therefore it is difficult to know where to draw the boundaries of the new field (Matthews, 2007). Indeed, this review could have included many other authors' work, or been drawn from more pieces from authors such as James, Prout, Jenks, Qvortrup, and Ansell, amongst others. However, the key tenets, as mentioned above, would be the same.

Tisdall and Punch (2012) explain that through the paradigm shift it is now widely accepted that childhood is understood as a social construction which has been fully embraced not only in academic discourses but also in policy and practice. Children's social relationships and cultures have become worthy of study in their own right, evident in various specialist journals, conferences and degree programmes (*ibid*). Academically, the notion of children as social actors is fully recognised within childhood studies, but there is still a gap between theory and policy/practice. In addition, and perhaps most pertinent to this research, Tisdall and Punch point out that, while there have been many developments in policy and practice of reconstructing childhood in society, complexities still exist in relation to operationalising children's rights and recognising children as active agents in their own lives (*ibid*). This is most evident in the dilemma between the adult roles of caring for and protecting children versus children's own participation rights. This we see also in the Bolivian context, which is explored in greater detail in Chapters Four and Five.

There are however deficiencies of the aforementioned literature. One of which is its overwhelming attention to childhood in the global north. Yet, as the next part of this chapter will show, this is now changing with increasingly greater understanding of childhoods in the Global South, and even further beyond that, global childhoods without North-South binaries. The 'newness' of the NSC could also be questioned, after the early

research emerged at the beginning of the 1990s and proliferated since then. Tisdall and Punch (2012) critique the paradigm and suggest new directions for it to go in. They believe that a more problematised and nuanced understanding of key concepts, such as agency, is needed, and that a focus on relationships can shed light on the complexities and interconnections of childhood in a globalising world. One of the major questions that Tisdall and Punch ask is about the commonly framed binaries of childhood (such as North and South or majority and minority world childhoods which are addressed more in section 2.2.5), and what studies in the Global South can offer to childhood studies in both the North and South. This provides the focus for the section '2.2.5. Towards global childhoods' shortly. Another critique comes from Hammersley (2017) who interrogates the paradigm, questioning the key assumptions listed above. He notes that agency is not dichotomous, with passive children and autonomous children at opposite ends of a spectrum.

From this latest paradigm shift then, the NSC, the notion of childhood as a social construction has thus become widely accepted as not only an acceptable approach to the sociological study of children's everyday lives, but a useful one. As noted above, however, some authors are also beginning to critique and question some key aspects of the paradigm, which are important to pay attention to. One of the main questions for this thesis then, based on the NSC, is how does children's work fit into a social construction approach, and how do the key aspects of the paradigm relate to children and work.

2.2.4. Literature on childhood in Latin America and Bolivia

All of the literature discussed so far is overwhelmingly Western dominated, not only in its empirical focus, but also with respect to the authors and the institutions in which they are situated. Finding research from Bolivian and even Latin American researchers who engage with the idea of childhood as a social construction is difficult. However, there are some researchers who have begun to consider the subject, and it is to their work that the chapter now turns. This includes those from the region, those from other regions writing contemporarily, and those who have considered historical perspectives on the region.

Some Latin American and non-Latin American scholars have also attempted to understand childhood in specific Latin American or Andean contexts. This literature is an important corrective to the Western focus of previous research, particularly in the

context of this thesis. The previous chapter highlighted research specific to child labour in Bolivia, however this section focusses more on literature which conceptualises childhood, some of which may overlap with that on child labour.

Rodríguez and Golte have given accounts of a pre-Columbian/pre-colonisation childhoods, focussing on the area around modern-day Mexico and Peru (cited in UNATsBO, 2010). Childhood in pre-Columbian cultures was considered a cultural matter and was associated with rituals and ceremonies that celebrated different life stages (Golte, n.d.). Education in many civilisations was considered as empowering and as a way for children to be incorporated into economic, religious, political and military activities that came with adulthood. Of course, there were many cultures and civilisations before the European arrival in Latin America, therefore it is wrong to make generalisations of a whole continent. Yet it is also extremely difficult to gain an understanding of how childhood may have been viewed and conceptualised over many centuries prior to colonisation.

Hecht (2002) has edited an extensive historiography of Latin America, from the perspective of children, combining scholars from anthropology and history. Children are portrayed as being at an uneasy crossroads of pity and fear (Aptekar, 1988). Hecht writes how in contemporary Latin America, few studies consider the possibility that multiple forms of childhood that can coexist and compete with each other at any moment in time. Childhood studies in Latin America, Premo (2008) believes, took off in the 1990s. This late arrival, she believes, is related to the way the history of childhood has been developed as a Western narrative of modernisation. She tries to include contributions of South American scholars, as a way to counter Western hegemony over the discipline, and states that Latin American historians 'have long been writing a history of children and youths, particularly in their studies of the family, slavery, illegitimacy and gender' (ibid, p.63).

Cussiánovich (2006) is a prominent scholar who has sought to promote and understand non-Western ideas of childhood, as well as writing on children's rights and working children.³⁵ He writes:

An alternative epistemology of childhood, in our case, inevitably involves dismantling the epistemologies that are expressed in the stigmatizing and

³⁵ His work will also be mentioned in sections 2.3. and 2.4.

discriminatory social representations of childhood, in particular those marked by poverty and the compulsion of having to work to survive, and that have been established in social imaginaries and have been transformed into common senses.

(ibid, p.93. Translated by author)

We can see from both Premo and Cussiánovich that ‘modern’ or/and related Western conceptions of childhood and the history of childhood dominate research on children and childhood in Latin America. They are advocates of challenging this epistemology and critiquing childhood studies in Latin America/from a Latin American perspective and including scholars from the area.

Specifically in the Andean context, Inverizzi (2003) mentions two notions of childhood in relation to work, as part of broader research and literature review that she has conducted. One notion is that of an urban childhood, which is largely middle class, with the child’s daily life geared towards education and play. In the conception of rural childhood, on the other hand, child work is valued and children themselves are an active part of family and community life. This way of perceiving childhood, she mentions, persists in some parts of the urban population who have brought rural practices with them into urban living (citing Altamirano, 1988 and Lobo, 1984). Sinervo and Hill (2011) likewise argue that Andean children living in rural environments are an integral part of household economies. They are valued for a variety of tasks including performing chores, tending to younger siblings and pastoral animals, and working in markets and shops. Bey (2003) considers that the development of some South American children comes through experience in an occupation, not through school. Hecht (1998), writing on street children in Brazil, distinguishes two types of childhood: nurtured (receiving schooling and material comforts and security) and nurturing (where children are part of household economies). The latter childhood is not classed as a lost childhood, but a different childhood.

Punch (2003; 2002a; 2001; 2000), as mentioned in the previous chapter, has conducted extensive research in relation to children and childhood in the Bolivian context. Her 2001 and 2002a pieces examine rural children’s autonomy and independence, based on examination of their daily lives. These pieces show that, within households, children do not experience identical childhoods but differences occur as a result of age, sex, birth order and personal attributes. The 2003 piece shows that children integrate work, play

and school, moving back and forth between child- and adult-centred worlds. It also shows that while children in the majority world have largely been understood in relation to their work, other, overlapping arenas of their everyday lives tend to be ignored. Her 2003 work builds upon the binary of minority and majority world childhoods, which suggests that the most common type of childhood is that of developing or non-Western countries, where work is common.

Overall, there is a limited amount of literature on childhoods in Latin America, and also from Latin American scholars. One way that this is changing, which is inspired by critiques of childhood studies, is to pay more attention to childhoods in majority world/global south settings (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). However it is not just about more empirical research, but also including more Latin American scholars. It is also about challenging the dominance of the West or ideas of modernity. Premo (2008, p.71) concludes that, in many respects 'Latin America's roots are entangled with, and yet separate from the 'West''. This is an important consideration to take when trying to understand childhood studies in the region. Collectively from the literature examined, we see some attention paid to childhoods in Bolivia, and that different intersections, cultural and global influences shape children's lives.

2.2.5. Towards global childhoods

The most recent direction of childhood studies arguably takes two somewhat interrelated paths. The first path, in response to the previous, historical focus on children in the global north, seeks to investigate childhoods in the majority world, or global south. Part of this is about challenging the knowledge dominance from and about the global north. Although the popular conceptual foundation of childhood studies largely originate in the global north (Hanson et al, 2018), the recent direction from childhood studies is about challenging this. Of course, it is widely accepted that not all childhoods are the same within these contexts and research needs to take a nuanced approach. The second path, and in critique of this first, seeks to explore 'global' childhoods, or childhoods in a globalised world, which may share commonalities as well as differences. This is important to this thesis because, not only have Bolivian childhoods largely been unexamined, but because of the context of children's work being examined/scrutinised at a global scale and in relation with the ILO, there are interplays with the global.

Attention towards childhood in a more global context and specifically the global south, which this thesis is concerned with, has proliferated in the last decade or so. This body of research has presented hybrid and complex constructions of childhood at work in diverse contexts (Ansell, 2017). Academics such as Honwana (2012; 2005), Wells (2015), Benwell (2009), Ansell (2016; 2009), Punch (2003; 2001; 2000), Abebe (2009; 2007) and Twum-Danso Imoh (2016; 2009) amongst others have dedicated attention towards childhoods in the global south.³⁶ In addition, several journal special editions and book series have been dedicated to investigating childhoods across different geographical, social and political contexts.³⁷ Holt and Holloway (2006, p.135) show how those researchers of children and young people have sought to ‘destabilise and transform spatially and temporally contingent constructions of childhood which dominate within the Global North’. It is with this in mind that we see how critique has shaped recent directions in childhood studies, along the two paths that recent childhood studies have taken; towards addressing the global north bias, and exploring childhoods in a globalised world.

Prior to the work mentioned in the previous paragraphs, James et al (1998) specify approaches to exploring contemporary, global childhoods in a typology. Their typology includes the categories of the socially constructed child, social structural child, minority group child and tribal child. The socially constructed child offers childhood as varied both historically and culturally, for example the effects the age of a child can have on perceptions of physical and social skills (Punch, 2003; James et al, 1998). The social structural child, by contrast, conceptualises children as a universal category, a part of all social worlds where children are a group whose manifestations may be different from society to society, but within each particular society they are identical (ibid). The minority group child offers children as active subjects and essentially indistinguishable’ from adults (James et al, 1998: 31). Because the world they inhabit is adult-centred, they are marginalised like other minority groups (Punch, 2003; ibid). Finally, the ‘tribal child’ presents children as different from adults and focusses on the otherness’ of childhood, where children act autonomously with their own rituals and rules (Punch, 2003, p.6). James et al (1998) stress that the four approaches can overlap and fluidity exists between them.

³⁶ This is not an exhaustive list and many more publications could be cited.

³⁷ Such as the Routledge Spaces of Childhood and Youth Series, which has many contributions from across the globe.

This otherness of childhood is specifically important to this thesis in relation to work. As Bourdillon (2010) points out, work and childhood have commonly been viewed using two approaches. The first, a 'normal' approach, views work as having no place in a normal childhood; children should go to school and play. The second approach, or an 'other' childhood is one where work might feature, but is not considered acceptable within society.

Boyden (2015) believes that selective and stereotyped views of childhood have been exported from global north to the global south. These views are that children should play and study, rather than work, and that work should generally not be combined with other activities. These perceptions have then formed the basis for human rights legislation at the international level, social policy at the national level and development policy in a variety of countries (ibid). Pribilsky (2001) also points out that values related to childhood, including ideas about what modern, proper and safe childhoods are like are caught up within the processes and priorities of capitalism. The ideas and associated images are circulated through the global economy via popular media, discourses on human rights, and public policy (ibid). Protecting children from the world's problems has become indistinguishable from ideas of domestication and schooling, as well as a shift from children as producers to children as consumers (Pribilsky, 2001; Helleiner, 1998). Paradoxically childhoods across the global south tend to be considered deviant when examined within the globalized model of childhood, which, as mentioned above, is based on Western ideals that children should play and study but not work (Boyden, 2015; Punch, 2003). These Northern/Western perceptions are largely based on values and history that are not applicable to many areas of the world.

With this in mind, another binary, offering opposing views of childhood, was developed as a distinction between 'majority' and 'minority' childhoods (Punch, 2003; Penn, 1999; Woodhead, 1998).³⁸ The majority of the world's children live in the global south. Therefore, statistically, this is the most common 'type' of childhood, although it is accepted that it is not homogenous. Childhoods of the minority world, it is argued, are formulated by a more middle-class, Western perspective and represent childhoods of the global north where children experience more privileged and protected childhoods, compared to most of the world's children (Punch, 2000). In majority childhoods it is more

³⁸ The origins of this terminology are uncertain but are evident in the work of Penn (1999), Woodhead (1998) and Punch (2003; 2001; 2000).

common for children to work and go to school than to have a childhood dedicated to play and school. However, despite being more common globally, it is considered deviant from the norm (ibid). Yet, even to talk of majority and minority childhoods, or childhoods in the global south is insufficient and ignores specific place contextuality. For example, it is argued, especially by the NSC literature, that childhood cannot be separated from other constructs such as class, gender, ethnicity, birth order and can thus be experienced multiple ways (James and Prout, 2003; Punch, 2003).

Tisdall and Punch (2012, p.259), in critique of childhood studies and suggestions for future directions ask ‘what can Majority World research on childhood offer to childhood studies, in both the Majority and Minority Worlds?’, suggesting that research focused on majority world childhoods has a great deal to offer. Similarly, they also argue for a more ‘bottom up theorisation’, that is, that research on children should draw on theorisations that emerge from southern academia. Ansell (2017) adds that rather than simply applying theories generated in the north to the south, contemporary childhood research with a more global perspective is both challenging theoretical propositions that are often taken for granted and is generating alternative conceptual lenses.

The above is arguably the first path of contemporary childhood studies, incorporating research and theorisations from the global south. The second, related path is a more global approach to childhood studies, with the increasingly globalised world (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Some of this is with the aim of moving away from the binary of the Global North and Global South as a way of exploring commonalities between children’s lives across both contexts (Twum-Danso Imoh et al, 2018). Previously, globalised childhoods have represented an exported/imposed Western construction of childhood (Nieuwenhuys, 1998; Stephens, 1995).

Holt and Holloway (2006) justify this second approach because experiences of other children within a globalised world have not been fully teased out, limiting the extent to which the ubiquitous child has been challenged within children’s geographies (as well as other disciplines, I would add). They state that the dichotomy between the Global North and South is often uncritically reproduced, by situating childhoods in either context, and not fully critiquing the power of this positioning which ‘underplays’ differences between and within the dichotomy, and processes that connect individuals and places (ibid, p.138).

Hanson attempts to draw out the differences between global and local research as another binary (2018). Abebe, commenting in Hanson's piece, believes that local and global should comprise a relational field, as opposed to scalar geographies, in which children's sensibilities and imaginations are enacted. He also states how this binary needs to be scrutinised away from just thinking of global childhoods as undifferentiated and powerful, and local childhoods as unique experiences which require preservation from outside forces. The experiences of childhood that are situated globally or locally are continually changing (Hanson, 2018).

Important considerations from recent directions in this research are thus how to address the northern imbalance of childhood studies. Although ways to do this are not agreed, agreement on addressing the imbalance is common amongst prominent scholars. At the heart of these latest directions are questions of scale. How do children and childhoods fit in, or are shaped by, ideas of local, global, Global North and/or South, or glocalised?

2.2.6. What about adolescence, youth and/or young people as distinctions or categorisations?

The previous literature has constantly referred to children and childhoods. Yet, as the first chapter outlined, although a child is legally (in most contexts) under the age of 18, the life experiences of different ages within those 18 years vary massively. Different countries also have different age ranges for different conceptions, such as child, youth and adolescent. The distinction between childhood, youth and adolescence is acknowledged to be blurred and messy, with no agreed definition of the boundaries of each life stage (for example Evans, 2008; Valentine and Skelton, 1998).

For some, adolescence is considered a separate life period and by breaking it down we can better understand childhoods: not as something heterogeneous for all those under 18, but as separate life stages before reaching adulthood. Adolescence is another stage of life, more age concise than that of childhood, but equally as constructed. Adolescence is referred to often in various studies, but without a definition. Adolescence has not necessarily been conceptualised as a field of study in its own right, like childhood studies has, but as part or subset of childhood studies. Surveying much literature shows that it is sometimes used alongside childhood without any distinction in age categories or definition, as if it was universally understood. Both Bayer et al (2010) and Du Bois-

Raymond (1998) believe that adolescence can be viewed as an autonomous phase and transitional period; a bridge between childhood and adulthood. But similarly to conceptualising childhood, there is much variation beyond that simple definition.

Youth, on the other hand, is commonly considered to include young adults and have a wider age range than adolescence. Amongst much research, there is often an uncritical mention of children and youth or children and young people, without much consideration of what that means. We have seen how it is not just an age identifier, but each term has different meanings. Competencies may change and cultural attachments/responsibilities may also change. This research will refer to both children and young people, based on self-identification by the participants, as Chapter Five will show.

Important in this discussion on other life phases is the discourse on life course and transitions. Life course refers to all relationships, transitions and social changes people go through in a lifetime (Elder, 1998). The theory suggests that there are a number of changes that people undergo, which alter future pathways. Transitions are considered people's experiences of current life, constructed by the manoeuvring through multiple changes in role and status (Elder and Johnson, 2003). The transition to adulthood, in a similar way to how childhood and adolescence have been conceptualised, implies that there is a social idea of what it means to be an adult (Arnett, 1997). Thus the transitions between distinct life phases are conceptualised too. Adolescents' narratives for the future are informed by events and experiences encountered in the past (Greene, 1990). Young people are experiencing a greater amount and degree of transitions because of significant societal changes, especially in 'developing' countries (Bayer et al, 2010). Important to remember is that all of these life stages are not fixed and are ultimately not determined by age. Rather they are fluid and depend on context.

2.2.7. Section summary

As a short summary, this section has looked at childhood studies as a body of literature. The implications of this on my research are that childhood studies as a field of study allows this thesis to look at and borrow many of the concepts from this field, to examine children's work in Bolivia. This thesis builds upon the latest directions of childhood studies, looking at childhood(s) in the Bolivian context, whilst acknowledging bigger

global processes and influences at play, with an aim to inform any commonalities or differences between and with childhoods.

There is also an intersection here between views on child labour and ideals of childhood. The previous chapter touched upon this, explaining how views on how to address child labour are bound up in views on childhoods, and combined with this chapter, has presented several binaries: majority and minority world childhoods, normal and other childhoods, working and work-free childhoods, northern and southern childhoods.

This section has also come first in this chapter, because of the way that childhood studies can be understood as a broader fabric through which other aspects are threaded, such as citizenship and rights. Indeed, some scholars see rights as a key tenet of citizenship (Invernizzi and Williams, 2008). That is the purpose of the next two sections of this chapter, to explore these other bodies of literature.

2.3. Children's Citizenship

The study of children's citizenship has seen increased popularity in the last decade as a way of rethinking the position of children in society (Invernizzi and Williams, 2008). Yet this relationship, both of and between children and citizenship, is a contested one (Larkins, 2014). Children and young people have limited democratic rights, and in many ways are not classed as citizens at all, certainly when citizenship is viewed as a legal status. In different countries across the globe, children have some rights, responsibilities and opportunities for participation, whilst being denied others. As has already been mentioned in this thesis, Bolivia has afforded children the right to work at a different age to neighbouring countries. Voting ages also differ across the world, and different youth parliaments exist where children and young people have (some) say in decision making. There are also several embedded elements to children's citizenship: rights and obligations, equality and difference, status and practice, membership, dignity, competence, autonomy, dependence, independence and participation.

In a way, thinking about children's citizenship is a 'misnomer' according to Cockburn (2012, p.1). Modern political thought has categorised political processes and representation as an adult realm (Wall, 2011). No matter the cultural view of children, historically they have been considered unsuited to exercising the levers of power for themselves (ibid). However, as discussed previously, modern childhood studies believe

children are social and political actors early in life, before they learn about constructed notions of government and politics through formal and informal education. This is something that more recent studies on children and citizenship attest to, as this section will show. Moving from conceptions of citizenship as status to other conceptions allows children to be considered as citizens in other ways. Despite this work, however, children's citizenship is a relatively new body of literature. This section will review the literature on children and citizenship, the relationship between them, towards what can now be called children's citizenship.

2.3.1. Citizenship studies

Before children's citizenship can be reviewed and examined in relation to this thesis, what is meant by citizenship and how it has been studied must first be examined. This is because the literature on children's citizenship is grounded, and builds on more general debates and literatures on citizenship. This is a vast literature, but key concepts and debates of the broader citizenship literature will be explored, which can then help set up the literature on children and citizenship. This children and citizenship literature is also related to the literature on childhood in many ways, as will be highlighted, and often uses the similar concepts.

As this section will also show, there is a contested relationship between rights and citizenship (children aside). Rights are an integral part of understanding citizenship, but not the only element. Citizenship has commonly been interpreted as involving rights, with children's citizenship being contested because of this complex relationship with rights (Isin, 2009). It is difficult to discuss one without the other. Thus, following this section (2.3) is a section on children's rights (2.4).

Citizenship in general, without specific regard for children, has been firmly recognised as a 'de facto' field in humanities and social sciences (Isin and Turner, 2002, p.1). However, citizenship is difficult to define because, as is the case with many other concepts in the social sciences, citizenship is a contested concept. Isin (2009) offers a summary of what citizenship is or is called. Citizenship, he argues, has commonly been expressed as two separate, yet related aspects: status and practice. Citizenship as status is concerned with how citizenship is acquired and focusses on issues of residence and immigration (amongst others). Citizenship as practice includes studies which concentrate

on 'integration, cohesion, multiculturalism, education, nationalism and transnationalism' (ibid, p.369). Marshall (1950) is a commonly cited author in early work in the field on citizenship as status. He wrote that there has been an evolution of rights acquired via citizenship: civil (developed in the 18th century through courts of justice), political (developed in the 19th century through parliaments and councils) and social (developed in the 20th century through education and social services).

Debates around citizenship have also focused on whether citizenship eases or hinders domination of one social group over another, and whether it remains or moves beyond the boundaries of the modern nation state (Isin, 2009; Isin and Turner, 2002). This is a pertinent debate in Bolivia and Latin America more broadly, given the contestations over citizenship from many indigenous groups (for example, Yashar, 1998), and the recognition of Bolivia as a plurinational state.

Isin and Nielsen (2008) have developed the concept of 'acts of citizenship', to describe instances when, regardless of status and substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens through actions. This is in response to the substantial changes in how subjects act to become citizens and claim citizenship. Isin suggests that a new vocabulary on the subject is needed as there emerge 'new 'sites', 'scales' and 'acts' through which 'actors' claim to transform themselves (and others) from subjects into citizens as claimants of rights' (Isin, 2009, p.368). These rights, they explain, are not just political, social or civil but expand to sexual, ecological and cultural. Sites can be, but not limited to, bodies, courts, streets, networks, media, borders. Scales are various, and examples of acts include voting, volunteering, blogging, and protesting, whether planned or spontaneous (ibid).

Similarly to Isin and Nielsen, in moving on from citizenship as legal status or legal practice, Werbner and Yuval-Davis (1999, p.4) argue that citizenship can no longer be understood as a formal relationship between individual and state but rather as a total relationship, 'inflected by identity, social positioning, cultural assumptions, institutional practices and a sense of belonging'. Alternatively, Hall and Williamson (1999, p.2) suggest the notion of 'lived citizenship' as 'the meaning that citizenship has in people's lives and the ways in which people's social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens'.

There are several key aspects of these changes in citizenship studies, relevant to this thesis. Key to this thesis and children's citizenship (as we shall soon see) is the moving away from citizenship as status towards practice, which is inspired by the conceptualisations above. By moving away from (legal) status, children can be considered citizens in other ways, as status has often excluded them. The ideas of lived citizenship and acts of citizenship, have also inspired new notions of children's citizenship, which this thesis employs to inspire a conceptual framework, as will be elaborated upon shortly.

2.3.2. Away from Western citizenship to citizenship in Latin America

Like critiques of childhood studies, citizenship studies have been criticised by some for being overly Western. Citizenship studies and some ideas of citizenship do have origins in a Western context. This is important given the context of this thesis, and the ongoing processes of change in Bolivia, which involve a reimagining of citizenship. It is also important to acknowledge if Western notions of citizenship are being applied to a non-Western context. Said's (1999) foundation on postcolonial studies saw the study of the 'East' by the 'West' as one of establishing a position of power over 'East', and creating an us vs them mentality, or 'othering' of non-Western peoples in comparison to the 'civilised' West.³⁹ In response to this heavily Western focus and power imbalance, the decoloniality movement, which has included some Latin American scholars, seeks to further understand societies in order to shift the power balance of West over 'others'. Isin (2002), supports this in specific relation to citizenship studies, by acknowledging that orientalism (he defines as a way of dividing the world into two civilizational blocks – one civilised, the other not) is at the root of the Western conception of citizenship. His (and Nielsen's, 2008) latest work attempts to challenge this perspective, showing how orientalism has become a problematic perspective from which to view citizenship.

Isin (2012) proposes three related ways for working out a new conception of citizenship as a critique of orientalism: undoing citizenship, uncovering citizenship and reinventing citizenship. Undoing citizenship involves 'deorientalising' and 'decolonising' the ways in which citizenship has been instituted through juridico-political processes. The second, uncovering citizenship, reveals forms of knowledge previously suppressed by juridico-political discourse, which concealed and discredited them. The third, reinventing

³⁹ Inverted commas have been used here as this is how Said uses them.

citizenship, forges new conceptions from unconcealed knowledges. This requires not just theoretical thinking, but analysis of how people enact citizenship through acts.

Mignolo (2009; 2006), a prominent scholar on ideas of modernity and coloniality, talks of a coloniality of knowledge and refers to the decoloniality movement as epistemic disobedience. He talks about it in specific reference to citizenship in Latin America, referencing, for example, how ideas of citizenship by the Aztecs were erased by colonialists to protect its western 'invention' and maintain the civilised vs others view (2006). Isin (2012) labels this an example of uncovering citizenship. Mignolo also highlights how at one point that Latin American scholars had to talk about/research Latin America, but European or American scholars could talk about wherever.

Rojas (2013) has written how historically indigenous people in Bolivia have been aware of the limits that western notions of citizenship, which have excluded them. This does not mean that the concept of citizenship has been discarded, but rather supplemented and adapted to 'reinstate a place for their own lifeworld' (ibid, p.582). She coins the concept of 'acts of indigenship', combining the notions indigeneity and citizenship to work towards going some way 'to bring a different conception of the world to Western Eurocentric civilization' (ibid, p.591). Acts of indigenship, she writes, are also conceiving new words, such as plurinationality, and embedding old words with new meanings, including citizenship. Specifically in relation to Bolivia, Lazar (2010) has written how the Morales premiership since 2005 signalled a new citizenship project, which represents itself as multinationalism in contrast to multiculturalism, as evidenced in the 2009 constitution. This, Lazar writes, is the recognition of multiple indigenous nations and seeks to decolonise Bolivia in the way that three previous (pre-Morales) citizenship projects of exclusion, assimilation, and multi-culturalism failed to do.

This section thus challenges the idea that there is only one set of ideas about citizenship (largely formed from western conceptions) and that they can be uniformly imposed across the world. There are evidently different contexts, histories and ways of thinking which affect perspectives on who is a citizen, on what grounds, as well the ways that people have been excluded from exerting and realising their citizenship. In the Bolivian case, scholarly work on citizenship is conceptualising it differently to common conceptions that came before it. These conceptualisations are hybrid, building upon the limits of western notions, combining western concepts, moulded with indigenous systems and

understandings, as well as in the name of decolonisation. As the introduction to this thesis stated, the ongoing ‘process of change’ in Bolivia whereby marginalised groups have reached unprecedented levels of mobilisation and representation in the country can part be understood through citizenship, or, citizenship is one way of making sense of these changes.

From the previous two sections we can take away that citizenship has been and continues to be contested. Its understanding is moving away from status to other formations, which is significant given the citizenship literature on children. Different understandings and conceptions in Latin America and Bolivia also move away from western dominance/power imbalance. It is relevant to bring broad theories and bodies of literature down to the place and time specifics of the research. It is also important to review what is meant and has been studied as citizenship in general, as some of this is relevant to the notion of children’s citizenship. How citizenship is experienced, imagined and conceptualised can affect the way in which the role and place of children in society is perceived.

2.3.3. Citizenship and children: children’s citizenship

Children and citizenship then, is a relatively new literature. It can be referred to as children’s citizenship, but referring back to Cockburn’s belief that this is a misnomer, it can also be explored as children and citizenship, or citizenship and children (2012). Just as there is not one notion of citizenship, there is not a ‘children’s citizenship’ but rather a literature that explores what citizenship means for children. The notions of children’s citizenship are driven by theoretical approaches, legal instruments and policies and experiences of children, and have connections to representations of childhood (Invernizzi and Williams, 2008). From constructions of children as human becomings/adults in the making, came arguments that children were non-citizens and were not afforded rights because they lacked rationality and competence, and also needed protection as opposed to autonomy (Phillips, 1997; Purdy, 1992).

The citizenship literature has only recently started to address what citizenship means for children in the immediate, as opposed to for children as future citizens (Larkins, 2014). Cath Larkins argues that this is in part due to the changing focus from citizenship as status towards citizenship as practice. When citizenship is conceived of primarily as status,

children are primarily conceived of as future citizens. The literature that calls to recognise children as citizens here and now argues three things (ibid). It argues (a) that their acts of citizenship constitute children as citizens, (b) for adults to change their relationship to children particularly in terms of respectful behaviour and accommodating children, and, (c) it challenges the idea that it is sufficient to treat children purely as citizens of the future. These are built in part upon Isin and Nielsen's (2008) theories mentioned earlier. This literature informs this thesis, and forms part of the conceptual framework, as the last section of this chapter will explain.

Wall (2011) discusses three ways in which children's citizenship has been politically theorised: as children's agency, interdependence and difference. Agency, as first mentioned earlier, suggests that, given the chance, children are just as capable of actively participating in political and social life as adults. This has grown from childhood studies and viewing children not just as adults-in-the-making, but actively involved in the formation of their own social lives and of those around them. With respect to citizenship as agency, children can be active citizens: express their own values, perspectives and experiences; act upon them and challenge those with power (Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2009). This suggests that children should have a voice and participate for themselves in democratic politics, and perhaps has its most obvious expression in the participation rights of the UNCRC (Wall, 2011).

The second model which Wall examines is citizenship interdependence, a child's simultaneous 'active independence and passive dependence' (Wall, 2011, p.91). Children can speak for themselves, but do not choose the conversation. There are relational ties and social and political interdependencies. The advantage, Wall writes, of basing citizenship on interdependency instead of agency is that children and adults are placed on a more clearly equal footing. The third and most recent model is citizenship as difference, which tackles the issue of power (ibid). Children can be included as full citizens only through a 'differentiated universalism' in which being a citizen enables those previously marginalized from power to struggle for recognition (Lister, 2007). Cockburn (2005), a proponent of 'difference' calls for changed public arenas and political spaces which accommodate the everyday worlds of children.

Rights, not just with reference to children's citizenship but citizenship in general, is a common way in which to view or discuss citizenship. According to Lister (2007),

however, to analyse children's citizenship exclusively through the lens of rights misses much that is important to their experience of lived citizenship, and to their claims to be recognized as citizens, which she builds upon from Hall and Williamson (1999). The idea of lived citizenship is 'the meaning that citizenship actually has in people's lives and the ways in which people's social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens' (Hall and Williamson, 1999, p.2). Citizenship, Lister believes, means to enjoy the rights of citizenship necessary for agency and social and political participation. To act as a citizen involves fulfilling the full potential of the status. Whereas adults can be citizens without acting as such, children can act as citizens without first enjoying the full rights of citizenship – the status.

Various other phrases have been adopted in scholarly work to articulate the particular nature of children's citizenship (Lister, 2007). Bulmer and Rees (1996), and Roche (1999) promote partial citizenship as way to avoid citizenship as an either/or – which can be applied to children. Similarly, Cohen (2005) coins semi-citizenship as a middle ground by which children are citizens by certain standards, but not others.

Many authors on children's citizenship acknowledge the significance of the UNCRC, in the process of rethinking children's position in societies (Invernizzi and Williams, 2008). Doek (2008), based on a UNCRC approach, suggests a notion of the child as a 'citizen now'. Key aspects of this notion include that: every child, with or without a birth certificate and nationality, should be treated as a citizen; non-discrimination in the exercise of rights; inter alia the full respect for and implementation of the rights of the child; and ensuring full and harmonious development of the child.

Lister (2008) lists many other building blocks of citizenship, other than rights, and explores how these can be remoulded to be compatible with childhood. Membership, participation, responsibilities, status, respect and recognition too. However, she warns, along with Cohen (2005) that not one component should be confused with the whole of citizenship. Conversely, not one should also be discarded.

Larkin (2014) builds upon the notion of *acts* of citizenship and explores how children's actions enact them as citizens. She argues that if citizenship is framed as a practice, rather than a status, children can be firmly seen as citizens in the sense that they are social actors,

negotiating and contributing to relationships of social interdependence. She continues by saying that:

Citizenship is not only practised by those children who engage in formal participatory processes negotiating rules of social coexistence, such as through councils, committees, forums and decision-making processes. Children also enact themselves as citizens through practices at least as diverse as negotiating rules of social coexistence (wherever this may be), contributing to socially agreed good and fulfilling their own individual rights.

(ibid, p.19).

Thus, children's citizenship, just like more generic citizenship studies, is changing and contested, and is grounded on different interpretations of the meaning of citizenship. It has moved from status, whereby children are not considered as citizens, to other ways of understanding citizenship, which can be more inclusive towards children. It is these contemporary notions, notably lived citizenship and children's enacted citizenship, which form a basis for the conceptual framework of this thesis. So too does the relationship between children's citizenship and childhood studies, and the concepts of rights, responsibility, membership, competency, participation and status. These elements are important to this thesis and the case of children's work in Bolivia. This will be evident and form the basis of discussion in Chapters Four and Five.

2.4. Children's Rights

The last body of literature to be discussed is children's rights. Children's rights are also a key aspect of both previous literatures examined: childhood studies and children's citizenship. Reynaert et al (2009) suggest that children's rights have become a significant field of study due to the adoption of the UNCRC, and any scholarly work on children's rights is 'inconceivable' to them without considering the convention (ibid). Invernizzi and Williams (2008) address rights as being a fundamentally embedded notion in the discourse and theory of citizenship. So too, it is evident that the advent of children's rights, following on from the UNCRC in 1989, inspired a proliferation of research on childhoods. However, children's rights can also be classed as its own, established and legitimate body of literature, albeit interlinked with the two previous mentioned (Quennerstedt, 2013). It is this body of literature that this section addresses. It is a shorter

section than the previous two given its relative under-theorisation as a field of studies (Arce, 2015), as well as because of overlap with the two previous literatures.

As this chapter has already attested to, the UN Convention for the Rights of the Child has inspired rights-based approaches to the study of childhoods and children. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the convention pledges basic human rights for children: the right to a childhood, to be educated and healthy, to be treated fairly and to be heard (UNICEF, 1989). It is a rights text and an international agreement, but can be approached by some as something much more than that, a moral authority to be viewed without challenge (Bourdillon et al, 2010). However, this unchallengeable authority inspires much critique on the discourse of children's rights which will be discussed shortly. Some of the rights codified in the UNCRC are shared with the rights of all people, or adults, others are particular to children (Archard, 2013). With this, Archard develops Feinberg's (1980) categorisation of children's rights as A rights, C rights and AC rights. A rights are adult only rights, and are to do with franchise and being above the age of majority. The rights holder is deemed to be the best judge of their own interests. C rights are particular to children, treating them as objects or recipients of protection and welfare (beyond what is afforded to adults), by virtue of their immaturity or capacity and their need to be safeguarded and cared for. Archard calls these protection rights. AC rights are common to both adults and children, such as general welfare rights.

Reynaert et al (2009) argue that there are three common themes identified in the literature on children's rights. The first is a focus on children's competency and their right to participation. This is directly related to the literature on the sociology of childhood, as discussed in the first section, and the claim (by the likes of James and James, 2004 and James et al, 1998) that children are competent beings and recognised as they are in the present, rather than becoming adults. The second theme is changing views on childhood, and the manner in which this is generating tensions between the child and parents, producing a dichotomy of children's and parents' rights. The third theme, and according to Quennerstedt (2013), the most important contribution, is the 'global rights industry', 'that research has engaged in an international consensus building around children's rights' (Quennerstedt, 2013: 236). This, built upon work by Stammers (1999), refers to the vast amount of literature that is concerned with standard-setting, implementation and monitoring of human rights, and specifically, children's rights and the UNCRC.

This 'global rights industry' research is focussed on the how rights recognised in the UNCRC have been realised in practice in various areas of society, and has compared implementation in different regions of the world (ibid). From this review of literature comes a critique from Reynaert et al (2009) that children's rights research lacks critical engagement: children's rights are presented as the new norm in policy and practice without any questioning or problematisation of this norm. Reynaert et al (2012) write that children's rights are understood in an unambiguous way, and that there is a social consensus towards children's rights. The UNCRC, they believe, is perceived as an instruction for policy and practice, yet there is a gap between the reality and convention. The implementation of the convention thus becomes a matter of following the instruction to fill the gap. Research on this, thus, is uncritical: it merely checks the way or extent to which the UNCRC has been implemented in practice. Reynaert et al (2012) believe that the convention should be a starting point for critique in children's rights research, challenging its norms and assumptions. Another critique of the UNCRC is that it is distant from the reality of children's lives and experiences in the Global South (Invernizzi et al, 2016).

The limitations of Reynaert et al (2012; 2009) are that their ideas are based on literature up until 2007. Since then Quennerstedt (2013) has proposed that research into children's rights issues needs to address three interrelated challenges, which are (a) advancing critique, (b) increasing theorisation and (c) contextualising research, building upon Reynaert et al (2012). She calls for research to be more critical, especially when concerning the UNCRC and the basic assumptions on which it rests. Consensus on children's rights, she believes, is not necessarily a good thing. There should exist a certain amount of disagreement, which will encourage debate, discussion and new thinking and questions.

Arce (2015) also supports many of the critiques above, calling for further research that fills a theoretical void and that is not bounded by institutional frameworks (i.e. the UNCRC). Arce's critiques focus on five areas: the position of children's rights research within the wider interdisciplinary field of childhood studies (taking interdisciplinarity seriously), the necessity to move away from emphasis and attention on children's participation to children's citizenship, the normative (il)legitimacy of the international system of children's rights, the consideration of children's rights as a branch of antidiscrimination law, and the (uneasy) relationship between children's rights and

children's 'sciences'. Of these critiques, this thesis is primarily concerned with the first three. The first, regarding interdisciplinarity of children's rights within childhood studies, is also about questioning this interdisciplinarity and not accepting it, and about understanding the key tools and concepts of the study of children's rights, just as childhood studies granted scholarly work with useful tools and concepts like agency, social construction etc. The second, the apparent necessity to move from children's participation to children's citizenship, is born from a critique of the UNCRC, which only accords to children the right to participate (Article 12), instead of children's citizenship, which would imply at the least the political influence and norm making capacity of children. The third, the normative (il)legitimacy of the (international) system of children's rights, is to do with the UNCRC lacking legitimacy because of the lack of inclusion of children (no legislation, inclusion or endorsement). This is based on views of children at the time lacking competency to do so, and to do with the restrictive, narrow framework of UNCRC which paints a very specific image/ideal of childhood and children's rights. This is something that Law 548 counters, in that it was created with input from children.

Hanson and Nieuwenhuys (2013), and van Daalen et al (2016) propose the notion of living rights to illustrate how children, whilst making use of notions of rights, shape what these rights are, and become, in the social world. They argue that children's rights are not those defined and codified. Rather, rights exist in the real world and are based on lived experiences before they are codified. This creates a critical distance from the legal and political arenas where children's rights are invoked (van Daalen et al, 2016). Rights are positions to be occupied, and children's rights are positions to be occupied by children (Hanson and Nieuwenhuys, 2013). Together with the concept of lived citizenship, this notion forms part of the conceptual framework which will be discussed shortly.

The literature on children's rights in Bolivia is very thin. Only one scholar has really engaged with it, and a couple of pieces have touched on it. Liebel (2015) and Liebel et al (2016) examine Law 548 and working children's movements in the context of children's rights. Indeed, Liebel et al (2016) examined the right to work as a living right, based on the work of Hanson and Nieuwenhuys (2013). Fontana and Grugel (2015) touch upon children's rights when examining ILO C.182, but they are mostly concerned with human rights norms.

Critical reflections on scholarly research on children's rights might thus be summed up as follows. First, the study of children's rights as its own area of study is still relatively new, but justifiably one in its own right. Second, scholars are calling for a more critical approach to children's rights, instead of an uncritical acceptance of UNCRC norms and values. Key are Arce's (2015) calls for a questioning and understanding of how children's rights can help weave the fabric of the broader childhood studies. Third, context is important, which has also been important for the two previously discussed bodies of literature: childhood studies and citizenship. Fourth, while children's rights as a body of literature has been examined, it is also important to understand it as a concept, to see how it can be operationalised in this research. Lastly, there is little work within this children's rights literature that specifically addresses the Bolivian context. Where there is, by Liebel, it is on the right to work, illustrating the importance of this topic and the need for more research.

2.5. Conceptual Framework

This research uses the three interrelated bodies of literature, which are built on using similar, if not the same, concepts. All three aim to understand childhood, children and children's place in and contribution to society. Working at the intersection of childhood studies, children's citizenship studies and children's rights can provide a useful and insightful way to ground this research.

The compatibility of concepts from childhood studies and children's citizenship literatures has previously been questioned by academics, due to traditional conceptualisations of citizenship as status – one is not or has not that status (Lister, 2008; Hill and Tisdall, 1997). Moving away from the construction of citizenship as status means that they can be seen as compatible. The framework of this thesis is based on the idea that these bodies of literature share many themes, concepts and assumptions. Notions of children's citizenship have connections to representations of childhood, and children's rights have a position within the broader interdisciplinary field of both citizenship and childhood studies (Arce, 2015; Invernizzi and Williams, 2008). Rights link both childhood studies and citizenship, not only as body of literature built from these, but also as a concept commonly mentioned in each body. Childhood studies is a wider field than children's rights (Arce, 2015) and I would also add children's citizenship. Childhood studies is a fabric woven of several threads (James, 2010). Children's rights (and children's citizenship) are part of this, as they share many assumptions, concepts and

building blocks. Ultimately, they share the rejection of policies, intervention and studies that are concerned and frame children as merely passive objects (Hanson, 2014). Within this thesis, these are brought together to investigate children's work in the context of child labour debates in Bolivia.

2.5.1. Combining childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights to examine child labour debates in Bolivia

Miles and Huberman (1994, p.18) define a conceptual framework as graphic or narrative piece to explain 'the main things to be studied – the key factors, concepts or variables – and the presumed relationships among them'. A conceptual framework is useful to ground the study in relevant previous work (Maxwell, 2005). A key part of research design is the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that support and inform the research, which the conceptual framework lays out (Robson and McCartan, 2016; Maxwell, 2005; Miles and Huberman, 1994). It is from these writings that I took inspiration for developing this conceptual framework of this thesis.

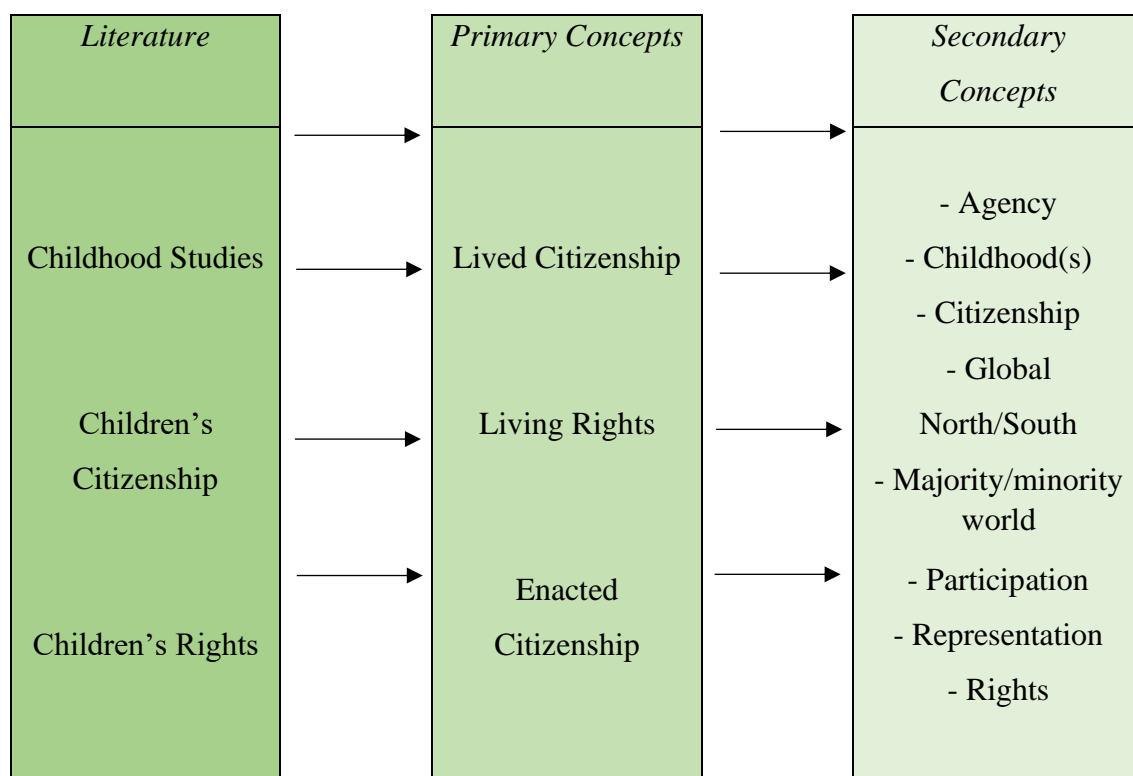


Figure 9. Diagram showing formulation of conceptual framework. Created by author.

Children's rights, children's citizenship and childhood studies are the three interrelated bodies of literature which provide a conceptual framework. Many key concepts and

assumptions are shared, as will be elaborated upon. The thesis concentrates on three interrelated concepts which comes from these bodies of literature (the primary concepts, to put it another way): lived citizenship; enacted citizenship; and living rights. From these concepts come to the front a shared vocabulary of concepts (rather, secondary concepts) which help to operationalise these concepts. These are shown in Figure 9 above. There is a risk, according to Lister (2007, p.58) that when the notion of citizenship is stretched too far it can lose its distinctive meaning, that it can be ‘sprinkled indiscriminately’ simply to add ‘conceptual spice’. By combining these three interrelated concepts, this thesis can hopefully avoid these pitfalls.

The first is the concept of lived citizenship, or the lived experience of citizenship, inspired by Hall and Williamson (1999), which is concerned with the ways in which people's social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives as citizens, and the meaning citizenship actually has in people's lives. It is about how people understand negotiate and practice rights, responsibilities, belonging and participation. Initially this was not conceptualised with specific reference to children. Lister (2007), however, has built upon it and believes that with regards to children, lived citizenship is concerned with children as citizens in the ‘here and now’, not just as future citizens, and with the inclusionary/exclusionary dynamics that are experienced by both citizens and non-citizens (Lister, 2007).

The second is children's enacted citizenship, inspired by Larkins (2014). This is concerned with children's engagement in actions of citizenship that include making rules of social existence, furthering social good and exercising freedoms to achieve their own rights. This is based on the premise that citizenship as status excludes children, whereas with citizenship as practice ‘children can be firmly seen as citizens in the sense that they are social actors, negotiating and contributing to relationships of social interdependence’ (ibid, p.7). Children also enact themselves as citizens through formal participatory processes such as councils or committees, or less formal ones, such as negotiating rules of social coexistence, contributing to a socially agreed good, fulfilling their own individual rights. Whilst this builds on Isin and Nielsen's (2008) articulation of acts of citizenship, Larkin distinguishes between actions of citizenship - “broadly contributing to dominant definitions of social good” - and acts of citizenship - “transgressing established norms to rebalance distributions of rights, responsibilities and status” (Larkins, 2014, p. 13).

The third and final concept is that of living rights, proposed by Hanson and Nieuwenhuys (2013). This suggests that children can and do interpret and give meaning to their rights based on lived experiences, socio-economic realities, various social relationships, and ideas of right and wrong. As with the other two concepts, the concept of living rights goes beyond citizenship as simply a status. This creates a 'critical distance from the legal and political fields where children's rights are invoked' (van Daalen et al, 2016, p.806). It challenges the idea that children's rights are those exclusively defined by international institutions and states or codified in laws and conventions. Hanson and Nieuwenhuys (2013, p.10) argue that living rights 'are an imperfect compromise negotiated at a certain moment in time and in specific contexts by individuals representing different local and organizational interests and possessing different kinds of knowledge, skills and power'.

These three primary concepts have the following in common. First, they enable an interpretation of citizenship as more than status, and rights as more than those codified. Second, and related to this, they shift the focus away from legal and institutional frameworks and toward the experiences and understandings of children themselves. Children understand rights and citizenship in different ways, and there are different ways to conceptualise them depending on socio-political context. This aligns with contemporary childhood studies, and the third point, which is grounded on the assumption that children and childhoods are worthy of study in their own right, and that children are active agents in the construction and determination of their own social (and political, I would add) lives, the lives of those around them, and of the societies in which they live. This, commonly referred to as agency, is deployed by children to act and behave as citizens and rights holders away from institutionalised classifications as citizens or not citizens, and rights holders or not rights holders.

Combining these concepts is a useful and insightful way of exploring children's contributions to the debates on child labour in Bolivia for several number of reasons. Firstly, the citizenship status of children that work in Bolivia is complex. Some work is protected or banned by laws (as the previous chapter showed) while other work can be seen as a contribution to society, or part of family life. Bolivian children and adolescents cannot vote (the voting age is 18), but participate in protests over work and experience representation through the NNATs. There are also political spaces for children to participate in some decision-making processes. Secondly, this is a useful conceptual

framework because of the ongoing process of change in Bolivia, inclusive of changing ideas of citizenship, whereby the latest Bolivian constitution has given increased indigenous rights, and encourages referenda, citizen's initiatives and prior consultations as participatory democracy. However, what this shift in citizenship regime means for children is yet to be examined. Thirdly, as this research is examining children's contributions to the debates on child labour, the theory of childhood studies allows and accepts that children can and do understand, shape and give meaning to their worlds, in this specific instance, the world of work. Fourthly, using these concepts, allows multiple elements of children's citizenship and childhood studies to be explored, including agency, children/childhoods, citizenship, Global North/South (or majority/minority) rights and work. It also enables a focus on child participation, and on children as rights holders and citizens. It is these secondary concepts, as inspired by the three notions (or primary concepts - lived citizenship and rights, enacted citizenship and childhood studies) as explained above, that help to interpret and understand the empirical data, and to which the data can be pinned to or analysed against. These will be operationalised in order to provide an interesting insight, and to look at the empirical data collected and say something about it.

Of further note, is that this framework is not static. It is built upon throughout the thesis, especially with the examination of empirical data (Chapters Four and Five), in which the concept of responsibility also emerges as a significant dimension of children's perceptions of their lives. The conclusion to the thesis will thus show how this framework has been built upon.

2.6. Chapter Summary and Conclusions

The main purpose of this chapter was to review the relevant literature on childhood, children's citizenship and children's rights, in order to identify the theoretical background to this research, critique the literature, identify gaps and explain the conceptual framework employed by this thesis. As the chapter has shown, this has meant bringing in literature from a variety of disciplines in the social sciences. Research from a diversity of perspectives can offer a means of bringing deeper understanding of a complex social phenomenon, particularly children-centred research (Bessell, 2010). Consequently, this does not sit within one body of literature or discipline, but brings together political, sociological and geographical literature.

The first part of this chapter looked at early work on childhood and its hints towards childhood being understood as a social construction. The chapter then focussed on the new sociology of childhood, a significant recent paradigm shift in this literature. It then attended to some of the most recent discussions conceptualising the differences between global north and Global South childhoods. Section 2.3 looked at children's citizenship, situating it first in general citizenship studies literature and addressing its bias to western citizenship. It then looked at the literature on children's citizenship. Section 2.4 focussed at the relatively new body of literature concerned with children's rights. Lastly, Section 2.5. presented the conceptual framework for this thesis, which draws on the three bodies of literature to create a multi-faceted framework.

By doing this review, the chapter has identified a gap in the literature within which this thesis sits, combining this theoretical gap with the practical, policy and contextual gaps identified in Chapter One. Childhood studies have been internally critiqued for producing many empirical accounts of children and young people's everyday lives while becoming complacent and uncritical on a more theoretical level (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson 2011, Holt 2011; Horton and Kraftl 2005). Addressing these claims is what I attempt to do. I do this by bringing two established literatures together, along with a relatively new one, and use them in the Bolivian context to explore children and young people's lives in relation to work, and the debates around child labour in the Bolivian context and internationally. Thus this research fills and contributions to theory, empirical analysis and policy debates.

As part of the 25th anniversary of the journal *Childhood* (2018), several prominent scholars called for childhood studies to become less Northern centric, and engage with other disciplines in order to advance childhood studies both theoretically and methodologically. This thesis attempts to do that. This thesis also accepts contemporary critiques of childhood studies, in addressing some issues along the North/South, or minority/majority world binary. It accepts that while Bolivian childhoods, for some, may be considered a majority world childhood - because of the commonality of the experience of children working globally - there are also globalising forces at play in the Bolivian context, as mentioned in the Introduction and Chapter One, which means that in many ways Bolivian childhoods are also globalised, or more specifically tied up with and conditioned by global politico-economic forces. Thus this thesis will not present a childhood specific to the Global South, one that is homogenous, or solely critique it

against that of a Global North childhood. Rather, it will try to do so with the specific context that these children live, which could be influenced by local and global influences, their family circumstances and the social and cultural context. It can then relate to these binaries and their critiques.

With the previous chapters having outlined and explained the circumstantial, contextual and theoretical background to this research, the next chapter now explains the research process undertaken for this thesis. It explains the research methodology, concentrating on the data collection methods, data analysis and fieldwork conducted.

Chapter Three. Research on, with and for children. Methods, Fieldwork and Analysis

3.1. Chapter Introduction

There is no agreed methodological approach to researching the phenomena of children's work, arguably because of the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon, which the previous two chapters have attested to. The research and literature consulted thus far has shown that both qualitative and quantitative studies exist when researching child labour. Exploring childhood, children's citizenship and children's rights have also drawn from many methodological approaches. Briefly, qualitative based studies for example are more likely to investigate perspectives, experiences of and lifestyles of working children and child labour (Abebe and Kjørholt, 2009; Punch, 2000; Woodhead, 1999), whereas quantitative based studies have tended to focus on labour markets, school attendance, income from child work, and other economic factors to produce patterns and statistics (Bezerra et al, 2009; Galli, 2001; Anker, 2000).⁴⁰ This thesis fits in with the former, and this chapter lays out the methodology adopted, the fieldwork conducted to collect the data and the data analysis process. It also summarises and explores some of my reflections upon the research process, notably during the fieldwork.

As a reminder, this thesis is structured around the overarching **aim of analysing the child labour debates in Bolivia by including children's and adolescents' perspectives on work**. This is done through answering the following research question: **How can children's and adolescents' perspectives on work inform debates on child labour and child work in Bolivia?** The main research question will be addressed by exploring the following sub-questions:

- What are the debates over child labour that exist in Bolivia and why do they exist?
- What are children and adolescents' understandings on work in this context, and how do they articulate them?
- What can the conceptual framework (built upon childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights) tell us about children and adolescents perspectives and understandings, and about these debates?

⁴⁰ These are examples and not an exhaustive list.

The two previous chapters have explained the contextual and theoretical background as to why these research questions are important. There is an ongoing contemporary debate as to whether children should work or not. Throughout this debate, however, the voices of children, especially non-organised children, have been ignored. This chapter explains how these research questions were answered. The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, it explains the research approach, the data collection and analysis tools. Secondly, it also explains the research journey, concentrating on the fieldwork in La Paz and El Alto in Bolivia. It concludes with some reflections on the research process as well as ethical and validity considerations.

3.2. Research Approach: Qualitative Research, Children and Childhood Studies

A qualitative research strategy emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative methods are an appropriate and effective approach to research in social sciences, have increased in their use and are widely accepted as the most appropriate for research where in-depth information is required (Silverman, 2004; Crang, 2002; Limb and Dwyer, 2001). Employing qualitative methods allows for in-depth understandings from the contributions of participants, as this research requires (Merriam, 2009; Flick et al., 2004). Denzin and Lincoln (2011, p.3) explain qualitative research as:

...a situated activity that locates the observer in the world... (that) consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible... (and that) turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self.

They also go on to state that such research involves an interpretative and naturalistic approach to the world. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of their meanings people bring to them (ibid). Qualitative research inherently has an interpretive element to it, and different research approaches provide a different 'lens' through which the world can be observed and understood (ibid). These are the main justifications of using this qualitative approach for this research. Of course, questions thus arise about research disturbing or disrupting such natural settings, and the researchers influence on such a lens and their own interpretation on the research, data and analysis.

3.2.1. Research on, with and about children

Understanding childhood as a social construction has changed the way in which children are involved in research (Benwell, 2007). By understanding children as social actors, children have become more 'involved' in research, as participants in the research process as opposed to just subjects. This involvement can be in different capacities, as this section will show. It is important to address these to understand in what capacity children were involved in this research.

Specifically, within qualitative research studies in the social sciences, research with, on or about children does not require the use of particular research methods, but it has been acknowledged that the skills and competencies of participants should be taken in to consideration in relation to the tools chosen (Christensen and James, 2000). The status of children, as perceived by the researcher can influence what methods should be used and different methods in combination can help in creating a multidimensional picture of the field (Eder and Fingerson 2002; Punch, 2002b). Different methods suit different fields and different participants better than others and, by using a variety of methods, the chances increase that individual research participants will feel they are able to express themselves in the way they prefer. A combination of methods can thus better capture the wealth of the children's experiences and situations, an approach this research has followed (Christensen 2004; Eder and Fingerson 2002; Punch 2002; Boyden et al. 1998).

As the previous chapter touched upon, Punch (amongst others, based on the theories from the NCS) (2002, p.2) believes children can be perceived as one of two extremes just the same or entirely different from adults, which affect research methodologies. She goes on to say that:

Those who consider children to be 'essentially indistinguishable from adults' (James et al. 1998, p.31) employ the same methods as those used with adults, since children are seen as basically the same. It is then the responsibility of the adult researcher not to draw attention to any adult-child distinctions by treating them in any way other than as mature, competent people (Alderson 1995). However, such an approach may mean that the power imbalance between adult researchers and child subjects is not always adequately addressed (Morrow 1999[a]).

James et al (1998, p.189) have suggested that there is another perspective of those who perceive children to be similar to adults but to possess different competencies. Such researchers tend to use methods which are based on children's skills and this has led to a plethora of innovative or adapted techniques being developed. Thus, taking into consideration what Punch says, as this study follows the social constructivist approach of childhood, the methodology considered children's competencies and skills with an innovative approach. Indeed, based on these innovative and adaptive techniques, comes the proliferation of participative methods with children that have taken off in recent decades.

These participative methods can be grouped in different ways, as Abebe (2008) points out. Such ways vary from child-focused to child-led (Ennew and Plateau, 2004; Young and Barrett, 2001; Boyden and Ennew, 1997) to emancipatory methodologies (Irwin, 2006). Child focussed methodologies considers children as the focus of the research. Child led methodologies are designed to elicit information with minimal researcher input, and emancipatory methodologies are creative with the aim to consider and use children's knowledge to empower them. Christensen and James (2000) and Kjørholt (2004) suggest four different types of research with children that can be put into a participatory scale. These are, increasing in degree of children's participation:

- children as objects, in which adults do research on children;
- children as subjects, where adults speak on their behalf;
- children as participants, in which their views are taken seriously; and
- children as researchers, in which they take part in the various activities of the research process as co-producers of data.

The reconceptualisations of childhood have led to an immense growth of childhood studies research, which in the UK tends to privilege children and young people's voices and has developed methodologies of working directly with children and young people (Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

The methodology of this thesis is inspired by the approaches outlined above. The thesis was conceived as a qualitative study, taking into account the social constructivist approach towards children and childhood, with different methods to allow participants to

express themselves differently; participants were both adults and children. It also takes into account children's knowledge that they are able to make valuable contributions, and considers children as participants. However, it cannot be pigeonholed into one specific approach from the above conceptualisations by Abebe (2008), Christensen and James (2000) and Kjørholt (2004). Rather, this research is a hybrid of the above, considers children as the focus of the research, and considers them as both subjects and participants in the methodological task given to them to elicit data.

In relation to research methods, I considered various literature, guides, suggestions and reflections on research methods with children. For example, Punch, in her 2002b work on methodological issues with children (based on research conducted in Bolivia) discusses the advantages and disadvantages of several methods suitable for research with children. She groups them as task based (which included drawings, photographs, spider diagrams, activity tables, diaries and worksheets) as well as 'traditional adult methods' (participant observation and informal interviews). Rafaelli et al (2001) also used informal interviews, and like Morrow (1999b), used sentence completion tasks. Other potential methods considered for the involvement of children were pictures and diaries (Buchwald et al, 2009; Nesbitt 2000), writing tasks (Morrow 1999b), drawings (Merriman and Guerin, 2006; Mitchell, 2006; Ennew and Morrow 1994), the draw and write techniques (France et al. 2000; Backett-Milburn and McKie 1999), performances (Johnson et al, 2012) and radio or video workshops (Buchwald et al, 2009; Hecht 1998). All of these, as with any other method, had their advantages and disadvantages and were taken into consideration based on a number of factors; participant competency, group size, research time frame and location, in relation to this research.

Each of the above methods and their advantages and disadvantages were all considered when designing the methodological approach for this research. In addition, it was important that the chosen methodology would be suitable in addressing the research questions, and that the research questions could be addressed by the methods. Specifically, I needed something to elicit opinions on what could be a potentially sensitive topic to children, and I needed something relatively similar I could do with different age groups so the data would be comparable. I also needed other methods to elicit information from relevant adults. Time was also an important factor, given that the data was collected during a specific fieldwork period, and not an ongoing collection throughout the PhD.

Furthermore, as advised by both Davis (1998) and Punch (2002) researchers should engage in a critical reflection of the use of such ‘child-centred’ methods, as a central part of the research process. This is in order to explore the advantages and disadvantages of how they work in practice and the implications for analysis of the different kinds of data that are generated, and also on the choice of methods and their application. This, as mentioned in the introduction to the chapter, will be undertaken at the end of this chapter.

Thus with the advice, recommendations and reflections from respected scholars in mind, this research aimed to gather in-depth data on the debates, meanings and opinions of those involved, therefore a qualitative approach was employed. The participants would also include a combination of both adults and children, therefore, taking into consideration the discussions in the previous section, the methods would have had to have been suitable for the competencies and skills of those involved. For those tools chosen, the advantages and disadvantages were weighed up. For example, drawings, diaries, photographing and focus groups were all considered, but were dismissed because of challenges associated with them, notably the limited time on the fieldwork with which to recruit participants, organise, monitor and collect the data.

With the above in mind, there were three main methods employed in this research; interviews, sentence completion questionnaire, and document collation and analysis. This decision to use participatory methods with children is not, as Abebe (2008) believes intended to represent an authentic voice, but rather take seriously the views of children. It is with this consideration, that I desired to use multiple methods, one of which would include children as participants to gauge their views.

3.3. Methods, Data and Analysis

These research methods, as well as the use of a field diary will be discussed first in this section, with the participants, sampling and field site discussed later on.

3.3.1 Tools and participants

The following table summarises the three methods used to collect empirical data. Each one is explained in more thorough detail subsequently.

Semi-structured Interviews	Sentence Completion Questionnaire	Document Collection and Analysis
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 24 interviewees - Stakeholders and key informants on children's issues such as welfare and rights - Snowball, purposive and random sampling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 174 children and adolescents across two schools - Working and non-working children - Systematic/inclusive sampling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mixture of documents from the ILO, NNATs, Bolivian Government and NGO reports - Readily available online - Systematic sampling; chosen prior to fieldwork or recommended by participants in the field

Table 3. Table showing summary of data types collected and participants.

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are a very common, if not the most common, qualitative method in the social sciences, and can be used to collect a wide variety of information (Crang, 2003; Kitchin and Tate, 2000). They are a way of soliciting information through talking in a self-conscious, orderly and structured manner (Longhurst, 2003). Semi-structured interviews are conversational and informal in tone (ibid).

Semi-structured interviews were employed so that particular concepts and issues relevant to this research would be discussed. There was also a need for flexibility, which semi-structured interviews allow, so participants could discuss other things they felt relevant, and so I could probe on anything they had said I felt particularly interesting. Questions were drafted ahead of the interviews, based on the research questions.⁴¹ Depending on who was to be interviewed, some questions were designed specifically for that participant. For example, when interviewing members of the Government, I was more interested in

⁴¹ These can be seen in Appendix 1.

policy and the new law. With regards to the NNATs, I was more interested in the NNATs campaigns and involvement in the new law.

There were a mix of open-ended questions, and follow up questions could be open or closed. As Bryman (2012) notes, this is to allow for some level of interpretation of the important topics for discussion by each participant, and also illustrates what matters to the participant. The interviews conducted lasted between 20 and 90 minutes. One interview had two participants. The times varied depending on who I was speaking to; did they have a lot to say or did I have a lot to ask them, and practical time issues. The shortest interview was conducted with a member of the ministry of labour, who was incredibly busy (and late to the interview). The longest interview was conducted with a long-standing expert on the topic and specifically working children's unions, so a lot of background information and history was discussed. It was also in his home, so was very slow-paced and conducted with coffee breaks and snacks. There were other locations too, the majority of which were conducted at the office of the participant, as I was usually invited there after first making contact via email.

As Appendix 1 shows, the interview questions started with generic questions on the participants' involvement with working children; their current employment or previous experience. Then there were topical questions on the participants' opinions on the term child labour, the legality/illegality debate and positions of the Government and ILO. Questions then deviated on the participants' current employment sector. I ended the interviews by asking if the participant had anything else to add, or say on the topic in order to give them an opportunity to talk about anything that had not been covered which they felt was important. I then asked if they had any questions for me or about my research, and also if they could recommend anyone else to speak to. This highlights the snowballing technique that was used, as will be discussed further later in the chapter.

Simon and Goes (2012) suggest that while there is no absolute agreement on the sample size required for a qualitative study, there are several guidelines that can be followed. For example, with respect to phenomenological studies, recommendations range from six (Morse and Chung, 2003) to ten (Creswell, 1998), whereas for grounded theory research, sample size guidelines have ranged from 15 to 20 participants (Creswell, 1998), to 20 to 30 participants (Morse and Chung, 2003).

The completion of data collection and the resulting sample size is often the consequence of data saturation, rather than a numeric target (Simon and Goes (2012). After the collection of sufficient data to draw out themes and categories, the researcher can decide to stop should the next few participants' experiences are captured by the existing themes or categories; the point of data saturation (ibid).

With respect to this research, during the first research visit in October 2016, I realised that there would be a finite number of interviews to be conducted. Roughly speaking, as is shown in Figure 10 and Table 4 below, there were four groups of participants to be interviewed – government, working children's unions (NNATs), civil society/third sector and research/academic. Therefore, researching this specific topic, based in La Paz, there would only ever be a finite number of people to interview to gain meaningful data. The aim of the fieldwork was not to gain a select number of interviews, but rather quality, depth and breadth covered in the interviews. The limited extent of the research community was also evident in my interviews, whereby at the end of the interview by way of snowballing, I asked the participant if they knew of anyone else I could speak to. By the 5th or 6th interview, I was beginning to get the same names. Indeed, at the 15th interview, the participant listed 5 people I should speak to; all of whom I had spoken to already or planned to interview based on previous recommendations. Table 5 below, shows the citation code for each interviewee. Further background information is provided for each interviewee in Appendix 2.

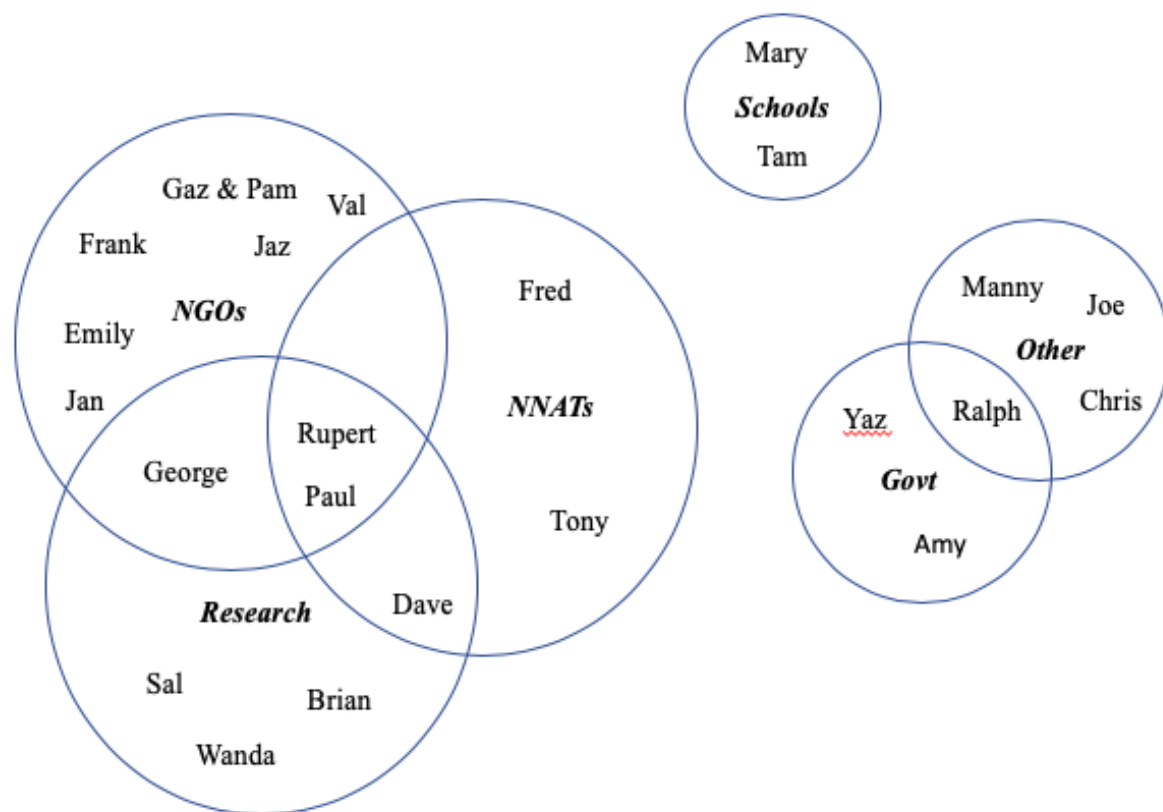


Figure 10. Diagram to show background of interview participants.

NGOs	These were mostly staff at local NGOs or INGOs, who held various roles on different programmes to do with children.
Research/Academia	These were participants who performed a research role at their institution, either research focussed, or at higher education.
NNATs	These were participants who were former child workers-cum-collaborators, or ‘adults’ who helped run the organisations.
<i>Overlap with the above existed when participants previously worked in one role then moved to another, or held multiple roles at the same time.</i>	
Schools	These were gatekeepers at the school where the child participants studied. They were interviewed for background information at the school and for their opinions on the relevant issues.
Government	These were either current or former members of ministries whose foci/remit was children. This included Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Justice.
Other	These individuals held roles or were interviewed based on previous experience or other reasons.

Table 4. Table showing the grouping of interview participants from figure 10.

Citation Code	Alias		Citation Code	Alias
I1	Manu		I12	Val
I2	Rupert		I13	Ralph
I3	Sal		I14	Tony
I4	Brian		I15	Paul
I5	Frank		I16	Jan
I6	Jaz		I17	Chris
I7	Emily		I18	Fred
I8	Gaz and Pam		I19	Amy
I9	Yaz		I20	Wanda
I10	George		I21	Joe
I11	Dave		C1	Mary
			C2	Tam

Table 5. Table showing citation codes for interviewees.

Techniques used in the sampling of participants were a combination of purposive, random and snowballing. Purposive sampling is targeting experts in the field. From the initial visit in October, a list was made of people I could speak to and these were specifically targeted. After these interviews, participants were then asked if they could recommend anyone else to speak to; and these people were targeted. There are interesting reflections to be gained from this sample base of participants; the relatively small circle of people involved and the familiarity of each of them to each other. I will reflect more upon this at the end of the thesis.

Sentence completion questionnaire

The sentence completion questionnaire was a combination of 15 questions and phrases that the participants were given the option of completing⁴². Nine were sentences they had to finish and there were a further five questions they could answer openly. These were all listed on a sheet of paper in the form of the questionnaire, whereby the participants filled out their name, age and sex at the top in order to collate demographic information. They were also asked to self-identify as a child, young person (*joven*, a colloquial term in Spanish), adolescent or adult. The tool was not a questionnaire as seen in a common quantitative survey. Rather, it was a way to elicit qualitative responses with the convenience of a questionnaire, and arguably more suitable than interviewing children and young people. This tool was used with children in school across various age groups, as will be elaborated upon shortly (see Tables 5 and 6 below).

⁴² This is shown in Appendix 3.

The sentence completion questionnaire used was inspired by Rafaelli et al (2001) and Morrow (1999). Morrow (1999) used the method in a worksheet form. Rafaelli et al (2001, p.397) state their aim of using this method as to ‘elicit youths’ opinions and feelings in a systematic yet open-ended way, without leading the participants by using direct questions but avoiding using an unstructured interview’. They further state the advantages were:

...that it permits the collection of qualitative information while providing sufficient structure to overcome some of the difficulties street youth may have responding to completely open-ended questions due to lack of formal education (results in a limited vocabulary) and short attention span due to the need to remain vigilant to danger and opportunities on the street.

(ibid, p.397)

Some of these advantages and challenges were applicable to this research. Before entering the field, and indeed before going in to the schools to conduct the sentence completion questionnaire, I was unaware of the intellectual ability of all the participants. As I was also conducting the research in my non-native language, having participants complete the sentence completion questionnaire themselves would allow me to take the data away and translate and analyse it with the help of a dictionary or translator (if I needed to), rather than have to write or record and transcribe the data immediately with the participants. Rafaelli et al (2001) presented their task as a game and was done verbally, with respondents told to respond with the first thing they thought of. I did not follow this approach, as I desired written responses, dealing with a larger population sample than Rafaelli et al (2001), and in a short period of time. Indeed, responses that are written or verbal can be different, as either medium could be considered for allowing participants different time to think and consider their response. I was of the opinion that written responses might allow children to consider their answers more carefully than verbal responses.

The task was designed so children and young people could complete it on their own without the interference of classmates, or the help of the researcher. Before handing out the questionnaire to participants I explained my research and the purpose of it, and then went through the instructions. Whilst the students were completing the task, I was on hand to answer any queries the students had whilst completing them. As Morrow (1999,

p.209) noted in her research ‘there was a good deal of looking over shoulders, checking answers and general banter that went on’. This was true of my experience, and my reflections upon this are considered in the validity section of this chapter.

With regards to the sentence completion questionnaire, a participant target was difficult to ascertain. Quantitative studies employing questionnaires often require higher samples in order to test statistical significance. The in-depth, qualitative nature of the responses to these questions however meant no real minimum or maximum target number was required, and responses were collected within the confines of time spent in the field.

Those that completed the sentence completion questionnaire were targeted solely based on their status as children and adolescents. The use of schools to recruit was not due to education, but due to the availability of a large group of children in one space. Children were chosen based on their virtue of age, and I required a combination of both children who worked and those who did not. The use of a public and private school was through snowballing sampling; the two teachers that helped me and acted as gatekeepers were acquaintances I had met through the network of contacts I had collated during the fieldwork. Whilst the use of a public and private school may not have been intentional, the characteristics of the two different schools does provide for interesting reflections and no doubt affects the data collected, largely due to the differing socio-economic backgrounds of the children. This is elaborated upon throughout the following chapters.

Ultimately, this research was about collecting data and finding the views of a previously unresearched group. The previous two chapters have shown that some, although minimal, research has been done with some of the most disadvantaged children, and in Bolivia’s case, working children in working unions. That, however, leaves a big number of children, both working and non-working, who, have not been heard. These children, to a certain extent, straddle classes (elaborated upon more shortly) and gender (as shown in Table 6 below).⁴³ Researching with these participants is a unique contribution of this research.

⁴³ Unfortunately, I cannot comment strictly on the ethnicity of the children, as this was not asked during the questionnaire. From appearance the majority of children were Mestizo or Indigenous in SB, and mestizo or white/European in CS. Mestizo is a person of combined European and Indigenous American descent, whereas Indigneous is commonly used to describe multiple ethnic groups of pre-Hispanic cultures.

Furthermore, the statistics from studies previously carried out on children's work in Bolivia (see Figures 3 – 7 in Chapter One) show that education and work are not mutually exclusive activities in children and young people's lives, but rather intertwined. My access was gained through a teacher in each school, and consent was gained from them as well as the head teachers of each school before entering the school. The sentence completion questionnaire was conducted during school hours.

The first school, henceforth known as 'SB' was located in La Paz and is a public school. This school had a good reputation (according to the teacher, Mary, my gatekeeper),⁴⁴ and so some students travelled over an hour each way from nearby El Alto as well as in La Paz to attend the school. Some students also came from rural areas and stayed with family members or on their own whilst attending school during the week. Although class structures in Bolivia are different to that of the UK, the majority of students could be from working class and lower middle class families. The second school, henceforth known as 'CS', was also located in La Paz and is a private school. The facilities in this school were in stark contrast to the other school: more modern, more facilities and more use of technology. Discipline, or behaviour of pupils, could also be considered better, in that the classes were generally quieter and the students deferred more to the teacher. Very few children lived locally, the majority travelling by bus to the school from Zona Sur, the wealthier part of La Paz. During my conversations during my time in the field, and from Tam, the gatekeeper for this school, in Bolivia, if a parent can afford to send their child to private school they will. The class of these students could be middle class.

In total, 174 children and adolescents completed the questionnaire. The biographical information is shown in Table 6 below:

⁴⁴ For ethical reasons the identities of the schools have been kept anonymous.

Age			
	<i>Public 'SB'</i>	<i>Private 'CS'</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>12</i>	1	2	3
<i>13</i>	11	53	64
<i>14</i>	32	6	38
<i>15</i>	32	0	32
<i>16</i>	19	0	19
<i>17</i>	15	0	15
<i>18</i>	1	0	1
<i>Not stated</i>	2	0	2
Gender			
<i>Male</i>	88	35	123
<i>Female</i>	22	26	48
<i>Not stated</i>	3	0	3
Work			
<i>Yes</i>	47	5	52
<i>No</i>	66	56	122
Total			
	<i>Public 'SB'</i>	<i>Private 'CS'</i>	<i>Total</i>
	113	61	174

Table 6. Table showing age, gender and work break down of school children participants.

Appendix 4 shows the full register of students which completed the sentence completion questionnaire. Their first names and code are used to reference their responses, which are used in Chapter Five.

Document and report collection and analysis

The third set of data that was collected was a series of documents, laws and reports. This is considerably different to the literature reviewed in the previous two chapters as it has been used as data and has been analysed, which makes it a research tool. This is used in combination with the other methods. Some of the documents were collected before the period of fieldwork, most during, and a few afterwards.

The first document is Law 548 – *Código Niña, Niño y Adolescente*/Code for Children and Adolescents. This is readily available online but also available in book shops in La Paz (as are many other laws). I also received two copies from interview participants who worked in the Government. As Chapter One attested to, the law deals with many aspects of children's lives. Chapter VI in the law specifically deals with the rights to protection of the child and adolescent in relation to work, but other chapters in the law were consulted.

The second document is entitled '*Mi fortaleza es mi trabajo. De las demandas a la propuesta*'. Or, 'My strength is my work. From demand to the proposal' (henceforth referred to as *Mi Fortaleza*). It was written by UNATsBO (*Union de Niños y Niñas Trabajadores de Bolivia* – the biggest union in Bolivia), with the help of *Tierre des Hommes* Switzerland and Germany, and Save the Children in Bolivia. This book was produced in 2010 as part of a consultation process among children, adolescents, workers, teachers, support organisations, professionals and local and national authorities. It is in two parts. The first part is titled 'Identification of demands of child and adolescent workers about the regulation of the work of children and adolescents'. The second part is titled 'Normative proposal for recognition, promotion, protection and defense of the rights of working children and adolescents' and is in the formatting of a law with chapters and articles. The document was accessed online.



Figure 11. Covers for Law 548 and 'Mi Fortaleza'

In addition to the two documents above, I also used various ILO conventions and recommendations in relation to children's work, as well as various reports published by the ILO and IPEC, which were readily available through the ILO website. Lastly, I also used several documented correspondences between NNATs and the ILO. Some information is available through the ILO website. Several letters and declarations were also given to me by Fred, Tony, Rupert and Dave. The documents above were chosen because of their significance and the wealth of information in them. They were also chosen as a way of accessing a published set of data with easy access. These were also official documents and represented official opinions and standings.

Field diary and notes

A field diary is a common methodological tool when conducting fieldwork, regardless of the other tools used. This can be for both scholarly notes as well as emotional and reflexive notes. Following the recommendation from Punch (2012), it can be useful to make a distinction between field notes and a field diary; a diary being more reflexive and emotive about the research process, notes more analytical towards the research questions and data.

With this in mind I kept a field diary during the fieldwork (and for a little before and afterwards), and field notes were also made during the fieldwork. While it was not used as substantially for data as the above three methods, it was used to support them. The field notes were used to record observations on the actual data, such as notes made during an interview and afterwards, whilst transcribing and even preparing for an interview. They were also notes on how what I had heard or read might fit into the wider thesis. This has been an evolutionary document throughout the whole research process and has been added to not just during the fieldwork phase, but throughout the analysis process too. These field notes in a sense were the first step of the analysis. The field diary concentrated on my feelings and experience of the fieldwork in Bolivia, which can be a very ‘messy’ and emotional process (Punch, 2012). Reflections from this diary are included throughout the thesis, and a couple are reflected on in depth in the final part of this chapter.

3.3.2. Analysis of data

Qualitative research involves continuous and progressive data analysis from the very beginning of data collection which, according to Ely (1997, p.140):

...guides the researcher to focus and refocus observational and/or interview lenses, to phrase and rephrase research questions, to establish and check emergent hunches, trends, insights, ideas to face oneself as a research instrument.

With this in mind, this section explains the analysis process by chronological stage, following with the types of analysis used on the different data types.

The data analysis and interpretation process began during the data collection stage, continued afterwards in an intensive analysis stage, and followed during the writing process where required. The fieldwork period and data collection was the first part of this analysis. As aforementioned, field notes were kept throughout this period. The interviews were recorded to be transcribed afterwards, but during the interview notes were made on anything I had a reaction to and thoughts I had based on what participants said. This was not the same with the sentence completion questionnaires, as they were collected in bulk (20-30 a time), however I did make a lot of reflective notes immediately afterwards. After the interviews, these notes were typed up. The notes quickly developed into short discussion paragraphs.

The next part of analysis was the transcription and translation of the interviews. The majority of interviews were conducted in Spanish (20 of 24). The recordings were then sent away to be transcribed so I could then work on translating them into English to further analyse. Whilst my Spanish speaking and listening skills were sufficient enough to conduct the interviews in that language, to analyse the transcriptions in Spanish would have been very time consuming and a difficult task. Any speaker or learner of a foreign language knows, that when conversing in person it is much easier to understand the person, as what is said is not just done so with words, but also expression, body language and in context. Listening via a recording is a much more difficult task, although conversely one does get the benefit of being able to pause and rewind. Thus, the interviews were transcribed professionally by a native Spanish speaker recommended by another researcher, for me to then translate the text using my own Spanish skills, as reading is a much stronger skill. I also used the help of a dictionary, and a colleague at CEDLA who was a professional translator. During this translation process, further analytical thoughts came to me which I put in my field notes. The turnaround process for the transcription could take a few days to weeks, so while some were returned while in Bolivia, some were not returned until afterwards.

Following the collection of all of the sentence completion questionnaires, the responses were translated and typed up, and then put into an excel spreadsheet, which Figure 12 shows an extract of.

B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
Identifier	Age	Sex	Status	Work		1. Yo trabajo como/Mi trabajo implica. I work as/My work means...	2. Yo trabajo porque... I work because...	3. Me gusta I like wo
SB1	15	Male	Joven	Yes		Cut glass	Because to help my family and also for	I like it b
SB2	14	Female	Joven	No		x	x	x
SB3	14	Male	Joven	No		x	x	x
SB4	14	Male	Joven	No		x	x	x
SB5	15	Female	Joven	Yes		Waitress in restaurant, clean tables and	Because I help my mum with bills or bu	Because
SB6	14	Male	Adolescente	No		x	x	x
SB7	13	Male	Joven	No		x	x	x
SB8	16	Male	Joven	Yes		Help load bread and clean	I need to pay my journeys and help with	Yes I like
SB9	13	Female	Joven	Yes		I work as a waitress my job involves ser	I work because I like it and at the same	Puedo ag
SB10	16	Male	Joven	Yes		I work with speakers and my job involv	I work as a hobby	Puedo es
SB11	14	Male	Joven	Yes		Loading boxes	A way to pass the time	Yes beca
SB12	13	Male	Joven	No		x	x	x
SB13	13	Male	Joven	No		x	x	x
SB14	14	Male	Joven	No		x	x	x

Figure 12. Collation of sentence completion questionnaire. Screenshot taken by author circa October 2017. 45

The next stage in the analysis process was a prolonged and structured period of analysis, using the analytical methods described in the next section. Whilst analysis software was considered and is widely used amongst qualitative social research, I preferred to analyse with paper and pen. The translated interviews were printed off and re-read with notes and codes (explained shortly) written down, which will be elaborated in more detail shortly. Documents were also printed off. The questionnaire, because of its scale, was kept electronically, however on occasion all of the responses to certain questions were printed off, or all the responses for certain participants were printed off.

After I was satisfied with the coding process (explained in more detail below), I began to write up. However, the analysis did not stop there. In the 9-12 months that I spent writing after dedicating 3 months to analysis, I revisited the codes I had, changed them, added new ones etc. Some of the interviews were revisited and recoded. Some of the initial codes made were not entirely relevant to the research, once I had finalised my chapter ideas and had discovered the main themes of the research. This process is confirmation of the iterative process of the research.

Different methods of data analysis were used to analyse the data collected, largely inspired by traditions of thematic analysis, and content analysis/document analysis, which Table 6 below shows. In reality, all the methods for analysis were not used in isolation, but together. Content and thematic analysis rely on developing categories that group words, sentences and phrases with similar meaning or connotations, in order to look for patterns and make sense of large quantities of qualitative data (Weber, 1990), as in my coding described above. The second step after organising the data was to identify these key topics as the starting point for coding the data.

<i>Data</i>	<i>Analysis</i>
Interviews	Thematic
Sentence Completion Questionnaire	Thematic, content
Documents	Thematic, content/document

Table 7. Analysis tools related to the data collected.

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis concentrates on searching for certain themes or patterns across a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006), which was why it was employed across all three main data sets. Braun and Clarke (2006) identify a 6-step framework for applying this form of analysis, which was loosely followed. These are (a) becoming familiar with the data, (b) generating initial codes, (c) searching for themes, (d) reviewing themes, (e) defining themes and (f) writing up. As can be deduced from this entire chapter, this framework was applied loosely to the whole data collection and analysis process. This analysis was both inductive and deductive, as it used the key concepts in the conceptual framework to inspire codes and themes, but also inductive in the way that new codes and themes came from the data analysis.

Content and document analysis

Content analysis is ‘used to make inferences about the content of recorded text’ (Miller and Whicker, 1999, p.68). It analyses the form and substance of communication (ibid). Underlying meanings and ideas are revealed through analysing patterns in elements of the text, such as words or phrases (Yang, 2008, p. 689). Raw data is sifted categorically around key topics from which inferences and interpretations can be extracted. Document analysis uses content analysis but for written pieces, as opposed to verbal. The author and purpose of said document is important to take into consideration for analysis, as this can affect what is written.

Coding and conceptual framework

After becoming familiar with the data following data collection and transcription and translation, I coded the data as per analytical traditions. Coding requires generating and applying labels or codes to identify key features of the data that are relevant to answering the research question. The analysis of this research was in part inspired by Hsieh and Shannon’s (2005) suggestion of directed analysis.⁴⁶ This is where the conceptual framework provides the platform for initial coding. An example of these codes are provided in Table 7 below.

The first process of coding required applying codes to the entire data set, then rereading them to come up with themes in common across codes and across data set. In reality, after

⁴⁶ They apply it directly to content analysis but it can also be applied to thematic analysis.

coding just a few interviews it became easy to pick out things using codes already used, but harder to pick out new codes. It took reading over a couple of times to find new codes and be objective. Of course, it was not just directed codes which were noted (those from the conceptual framework), the data also yielded fresh, unthought of codes not inspired by the conceptual framework.

For the sentence completion task, coding took place after the responses had been put into Excel. This was done in three different ways. Coding was done question by question (vertically), whereby all of the responses for each question were printed off, and then coded. These were again inspired by the conceptual framework, and from the data itself. Students with significantly thorough responses also had their complete collection of responses printed off (laterally) in order to code that way. Finally, once coding had been done, similar words were also searched for using the Ctrl+F function, to ensure that the data was mined thoroughly. By way of example, Chapter Four relies on the themes of rights, responsibilities and recognition of work. When it came to the code of responsibility, similar words were also searched for, such as obligation and duty. The use of sub-codes was also employed.

<i>Pre-set codes (broad)</i>	<i>Emergent codes (broad)</i>
Citizenship	Hearing & Listening
Rights	Responsibility
Work	Recognition/Visibility
Voice	Family (importance of)
Debate	Money (income/livelihood)

<i>Main codes and themes</i>	<i>Sub codes</i>
Voice	Hearing, listening, children's voice, other, speaking on behalf of
Work	Tasks, labour, child labour, work, definition, examples of
Responsibility	Obligation, claims, examples of, justification, duty
Rights	Example of, claim, fighting for, protest of, lack of
Childhood	Ideals, example of, lack/loss of
Actor	Example, position, conflict, opinion

Table 8. Example of codes used.⁴⁷

Analysis was primarily done with pen and paper (with the exceptions mentioned above). I did consider software such as Nvivo, however, I simply preferred reading and coding on paper. Interviews were printed, codes hand written and things highlighted, and a book kept with a list of codes and notes made. The three data sets were combined using this book. Occurrences of each code were noted across interviews, the sentence completion task and documents. Some codes were specific to each data set, some were common across all three.

Not all interviews were used in this thesis, and nor was every question response from every school child used. Nor, was every page in the documents used to the same degree. Rather, certain interviews lent themselves to providing richer data. Some questionnaire responses were more detailed, interesting and insightful. Certain documents and sections of them were more valuable. Ultimately, some of the data did not lend itself to the key themes and arguments of this thesis. However, the data was still mined systematically and thoroughly.

⁴⁷ This is not an exhaustive list, but rather an illustrative example.

3.4. Research Ethics and Validity

3.4.1. Validity and reliability

Certain checks were carried out throughout the research process to ensure the validity of the research and results. There is always the risk when collecting data that participants are not honest in their responses, misinterpret questions, or direct their responses to what they think the researcher wants to hear (Diefenbach, 2009).

Firstly, by employing multiple tools and data sets to investigate the phenomena researched here, enables what Kopinak (1999) refers to as convergence, whereby cross-referencing different data types improves reliability and validity of research. Questions of reliability could be raised here, as the three data sets are not easily comparable. Whereas questionnaire responses, if based on the same questions can be compared, comparing documents with interviews and questionnaires is more difficult. However, the validity comes from the complementary nature of each of the data sets in either supporting each other, offering a counter argument, providing background, or the voice of a different participant.

Secondly, researching in different language to one's own also raises questions around validity, given certain meanings that can be lost through translation and interpretation. That is why a professional transcriber was used to translate the interview transcriptions, and why interviews were also recorded, in case I did not pick anything up in the interview. Understanding my own language limitations is also key to improving validity and reliability. Knowing that my reading skills are stronger, led me to re-reading the interviews that had been professionally transcribed to pick up things like tenses, which could be misunderstood when listening to interviews. The sentence completion tasks were translated by myself, with the help of dictionaries, online translators and other bilingual speakers. Colloquial language was also something to be aware of. My learning of the language has come in both Spain, Peru and Bolivia, therefore I was aware of differences within the language. Fortunately, having a supervisor from Bolivia meant I could run things past him.

Thirdly, there is an acknowledgement that researching with children, especially in a school setting can raise questions around the validity of responses. I certainly observed children looking over each other's shoulders and at other people's questionnaires, as well

as talking whilst they were filling them in. Whilst it was stressed to them that they were to be individual responses and they could write what they liked down, ultimately some of the children wanted or felt like they should copy each other. Rather than taking those responses as invalid, I feel that it is important to take them at face value; that for whatever reason, those children did not feel comfortable writing their own responses, did not know what to write, or felt that the person they copied had a valid response to copy. To dismiss any copied responses as invalid would undo much of the childhood studies work which states that children should be heard and they have something valid to say. That said, there were no two questionnaires that had exactly the same responses.

3.4.2. Ethical considerations

One important methodological consideration with such research is that of ethics. The ethical issues were considered and the ethical process required by the university was followed with rigour. Ethics approval was awarded before collecting any data.⁴⁸ Throughout the research process and especially the fieldwork, I have tried to be as honest and respectful as possible, and no participants were deceived.

Ethical considerations whilst doing research with children have focussed on issues of consent and confidentiality (Punch, 2002). These have included, but are not limited to, how to gain consent, whether an adult gatekeeper is required and safeguarding, and the potential vulnerability of participants, which echoes issues of power relations between the researcher and participant (ibid). Undertaking such research with potentially vulnerable participants, presents a unique and difficult challenge. Liamputtong (2006) appeals for sensitive researchers to share the voices of the vulnerable.

Although nearly 20 years old, Morrow and Richards (1996) offer an excellent overview of the ethics of social research with children. Key issues to consider are the competencies and the potential vulnerability of children. Morrow and Richards believe researchers need to be aware of the standpoint from which they are studying children which includes respecting their competencies. The researcher must also be aware that as an adult they have a responsibility to ensure children are safe during the research process. Researchers must be aware that children are not a homogenous group, and that the accounts children

⁴⁸ Open University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) reference *HREC 2016 2377 Willman*, obtained 21/10/16.

give are affected by a range of variables. Where and how the data is collected is also important as this can affect the account that the children give of themselves. This is why the methods chosen have been tailored towards children.

This study adhered to ESRC's (2010) framework for research ethics and followed Open University procedure for applying for ethical approval for research with human participants. With respect to this research there were moral and ethical considerations to consider, nominally around informed consent and confidentiality with research with children. Consent from the adult participants was obtained by a consent form that explained the research, what their participation meant (including confidentiality) and permitted me to record. Consent from the younger participants also came from a consent form, however first it started with a negotiation with the teacher/gatekeeper. Once that had been negotiated, I obtained signed consent from each student before they completed the questionnaire. The consent form was explained to them by myself and the teacher present. Safeguarding of the children was ensured by always having a teacher present in the classrooms.

Confidentiality was a key ethical consideration which was also adhered to. The confidentiality of participants' names was protected by using a pseudonym. This presented difficulty with the interviewees, as their place of work, sector background or job role is important, but could potentially give away who they are. None of the interviewees specifically requested to be kept anonymous but this was promised to them in the consent form and has been adhered to in the thesis.

One point of notable contention exists in the disparity between ethical protocols here, at a higher institution of education in the UK, and the organisations that I was conducting research with in Bolivia. The standards of ethics, and even the acknowledgement of research ethics was vastly different. For example, I was showing a participant and host at CEDLA the consent form I was going to use for all my participants. He commented by saying that he had not seen or ever used one before, which I thought interesting given he and the organisation he worked for and the many years of experience that they had conducting social research.

3.5. Fieldwork, Positionality and Research Reflections

This final section of the chapter deals with the period of fieldwork in Bolivia and some reflections upon that period.

3.5.1. Fieldwork

The research was conducted in La Paz and El Alto, Bolivia. Officially (in the constitution) Sucre is the capital city of Bolivia, however for all other intents and purposes La Paz is considered the capital; it is the administrative capital of Bolivia and seat of government. Whilst the third biggest city by population (after Santa Cruz and El Alto), it is considered the economic and governmental centre of Bolivia, houses many offices for national and international institutions and was thus the ideal place to base oneself and conduct the research. El Alto is a separate and slightly bigger city than La Paz, and has experienced tremendous population growth recently, overtaking La Paz. It is considered a first stop for indigenous rural dwellers moving to urban centres, whereas La Paz has historically housed the mestizo and European descendent populations. The growth of both cities has gone from around 850000 in 1950 to 2.8 million in 2012. The two cities are linked by many public transport systems and merge together physically as La Paz spills over the top of its mountain boundaries.

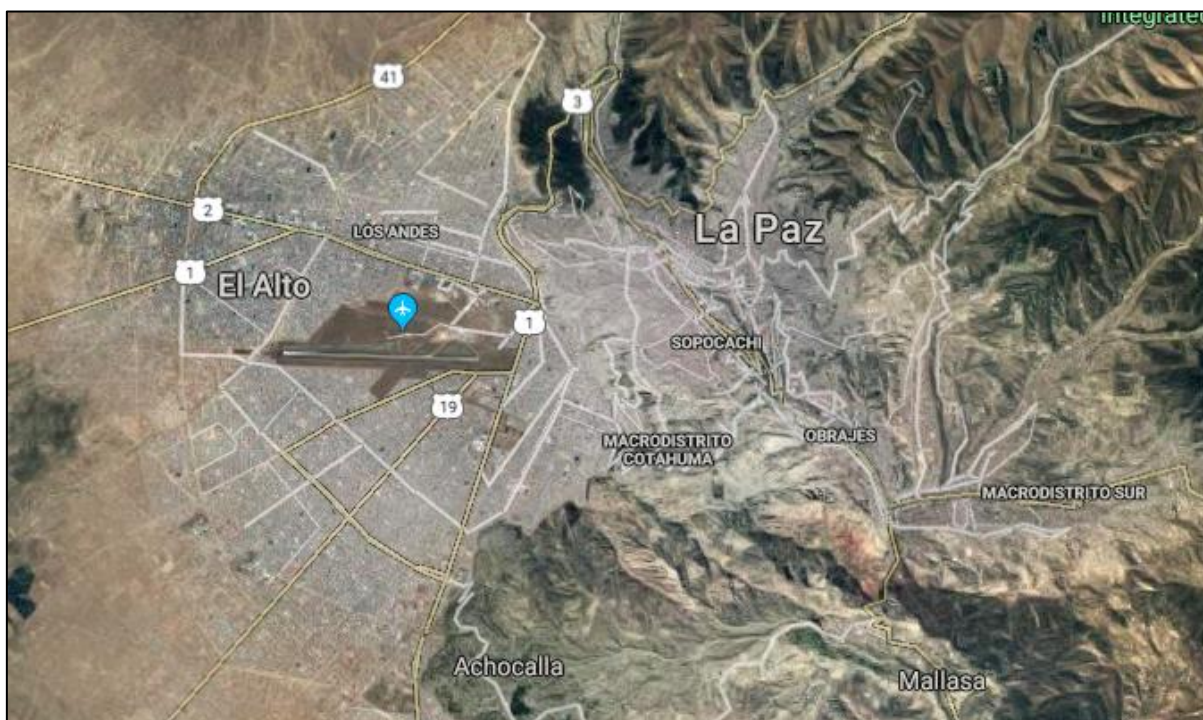


Figure 13. Map showing the location of El Alto (left) and La Paz (right). They are separated roughly by highway 1. El Alto is roughly 500 meters higher than La Paz. Source: Google Maps.



Figure 14. Looking down from El Alto into La Paz. Source: author, taken during the fieldwork.

Because of the proximity of the two cities, several participants were also recruited from El Alto and interviews conducted there. El Alto has become popular for different researchers, given its vibrant history of social movements and activism.⁴⁹

There was a preliminary research visit to the field in October 2016, in order to make contacts, meet key informants and collect subject background information. Based on contacts from my supervision team and previous research at masters level, I had four people with whom to meet during that time. This allowed me to sound out my research aims, and investigate whom I could interview. From these four people I contacted before going out, and met during this preliminary visit, I only interviewed one during the next field visit. However, from these four, I was given a much longer list of people to speak to. Networking and snowballing was a very vital technique to recruiting participants for this project, as mentioned earlier. Initial contact with gatekeepers or participants was usually done by email, whereby I sent out an information leaflet and a copy of a consent form. In a few occasions this was also done via WhatsApp, a mobile messaging app, and also Facebook which provided for an interesting reflection discussed a little further on in this chapter.

⁴⁹ For example, see Lazar's book on El Alto (2008).

As the main period of fieldwork was three months, a base was required from which to research from. Requirements for this were a fixed space with internet from which to work from. During the preliminary visit to the field in October 2016 a few spaces were checked. One of those was the public University in La Paz, however due to being unable to follow up a contact this was a dead end. An offer came from a charity (one of the biggest NGOs in Bolivia) however this was offered more on an ad-hoc basis, if I needed somewhere a couple of hours a week. There may have also been a conflict of interest by basing myself there due to the nature of their work. Finally, CEDLA (Centre for Studies on Labour and Agrarian Development) was established as a research base.

CEDLA was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was a research centre with a great reputation not just in Bolivia, but across Latin America. Secondly, it is an academic centre and not a charity, or government body, so conflicts of interest (whilst still not completely eradicated) would be fewer. Thirdly, although there were no investigators who solely worked on child labour, they had completed a couple of research projects and publications on the topic and on young workers in general, and thus had knowledge but also contacts to share. One of the researchers there acted as a gatekeeper for two interviews, sending out an email in order to introduce myself. It was useful to have a set space with which I could go on a daily basis when not collecting data. Upon reflection, there may have been one conflict of interest when trying to get an interview with the ILO. When I first arrived at CEDLA and sent out emails trying to get interviews, I sometimes mentioned I knew someone at CEDLA, as it can be helpful to make contact in La Paz; a lot of people know each other. I did this with the ILO. However, I found out many weeks later that there had been a dispute between some staff at CEDLA and some staff at the ILO over the analysis and publication of some data and documents, which prevented me from accessing the ILO in Bolivia.

The interviews were spread out during the main three-month fieldwork period. The first interview was conducted two days after I arrived in La Paz, the last on a Saturday morning 12 hours before my flight home (it had been re-arranged twice). Some (very frustrating weeks) I went without conducting an interview, others I had two or three interviews in one day. Negotiating access for these was a different process for the young people and the schools. One interview occurred two months after the main fieldwork. As mentioned, the conflict with the ILO meant I could not interview anyone in Bolivia, despite persistent

attempts at trying. However, through a contact in Geneva, I secured an interview over skype with a senior member of staff at the ILO for the South American region.

The data collection in the schools was conducted throughout the three months in Bolivia. Initially, it took a while to find suitable schools, meet the teachers, negotiate access and finalise consent procedures. I also spent several days in the schools beforehand, in a sort of teaching assistant role to meet the students. The students were informed straight away of my purpose in being there, and were not deceived in any way.

3.5.2. Reflections

Just as ‘where’ the method takes place is important, so too is my positionality as a researcher, and is an integral part of social science research (Anderson et al, 2010; Jackson, 2001). Both geography and development literature particularly encourage researchers to consider the ways in which their positionality will affect their fieldwork, in order to address imbalances of power (Smith, 2014; Anderson et al, 2010; Gregory et al, 2009; Valentine, 2005). In research such as this, in an unfamiliar setting and of a challenging nature for an early career researcher, the researcher must be aware of their own position, ideas and beliefs. To put it simply, the researcher in this case is from a completely different world to that of the research. To use several dichotomies aforementioned in the literature review, the researcher is crossing the Global North/South and minority/majority divide. Authentic views are very difficult to achieve in research, as they are encountered and interpreted based on the researcher’s own personal attributes, like age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion and social status, which all affect the process of fieldwork (Holmes, 1998). As Ansell (2001) and Punch (2002) rightly argue, these variables have a bearing not only on the focus of the research and the choice of participants, but also on personal interactions with them, interpretations of the fieldwork and data analysis. Inclusive of the discussions above, there are several reflections and experiences from this research that I believe are of particular interest to the research and the reader, that will be discussed below.

During a workshop I attended months before going on my fieldwork, entitled ‘Returning from the field...,’ I had a conversation with attendees about the insider/outsider status and positionality of a researcher, due to relationships with participants and becoming close friends with them. Following my experience of fieldwork during my master’s

degree, where I worked with a voluntourism project in Peru (and separating the more professional, research side from the social, friendly side was quite difficult), I tried to stress the point that whilst we should be aware of our positionality and status with participants, our lives go on during the research process. It affirmed my position that no matter how much we understand the issues around being a researcher during the data collection/fieldwork stage, we are still humans with needs, wants, desires, going on in life. With this in mind, in the couple of weeks following my return from Bolivia the second time, I had two very different conversations with friends, family and colleagues. With friends and family, when asked how my time was I talked very basically about the research process and more about what I saw in Bolivia, who I spent time with, what I ate and where I travelled to. With colleagues however it was more about the research process; how many interviews I had done, what data I had collected etc.

However for me, these two slightly different stories I told of my time happened simultaneously spatially and temporally, and were not mutually exclusive. For me the researcher, they were one and the same. During the first week of fieldwork I concentrated on sorting somewhere to live, tried to meet people socially and tried new foods. Only when I was comfortable did I start contacting participants and conducting interviews. In between interviews, I could have a coffee or eat with my friends, go to the gym or just wander the city if I had an interview in a new place. Indeed, a couple of participants did become and were before, what I would consider friends. One interview happened over beers, as opposed to the more professional 'tea or coffee'. Of course, there are ethical and positional issues surrounding this. In addition, during the evening when I could be at a bar with friends, I was also discussing over whatsapp a suitable time and place to conduct an interview with a participant. During my *despedida* (a goodbye party) at around 10pm on the night before I was due to fly home, I received a WhatsApp message from a participant who had stood me up twice the previous week, asking if we could meet the next day. Arranging an interview after a couple of glasses of *singani* (grape based Bolivian spirit), over WhatsApp, at 10pm on a Friday night may not be considered best practice, but that's how things went.

What I am trying to say with all of this, is that to experience a research process cannot be divorced from life processes; making friends, experiencing loneliness, getting ill, eating and drinking, socialising etc; basically living. But, we must also be aware of how these affect the research process and the data we collect. England (1994) notes how fieldwork

is a personal experience rather than a mere academic pursuit. Both physical illness and mental wellbeing can hamper the data collection process (ibid).

One other reflection on the research process stems from the discussion on validity of results earlier in this section concentrated on translation and transcription, from Spanish to English. Temple and Young (2004) discuss how translation can have methodological and epistemological implications on the research. As mentioned, the majority of the research was conducted in Spanish, which is not my native language. This included initial contact and communication with participants in person and via email, conducting the interviews, conducting the sentence completion questionnaires with students, reading of some sources and literature and analysis of the data. This I feel provides an interesting dimension to the research.

Different communication skills in a secondary language can be at different levels. My ability to speak (whilst not grammatically perfect, but still getting my point across) is better than my ability to write and listen, and as previously mentioned, listening in person is better and easier than to a recording. In addition, reading is a much easier task than all of them, with no time pressures. Although the research was primarily conducted in Spanish, the analysis was done in English. As the thesis is written, and had to be written in English, from conducting the research to writing the thesis, there had to be a translation at some point of the process. I thought this should better occur before analysis, rather than analyse in Spanish, because of my language strengths and weaknesses.

Of course, there is always a potential for ‘loss meaning’ when translating from one language to another (ibid). As the researcher, I run the risk of misinterpreting the original meaning of the participant, either by translating myself or employing a translator. However, I feel this risk has been mitigated by the types of analysis employed, especially concentrating on thematic and content analysis, whereby what is said and by whom is significantly more important than how it is said. Temple and Young (2004, p.17) explain that:

The lack of a one-to-one relationship between language and meaning does not absolve the researcher from investigating the role of language in cross language research. Instead, it indicates that the boundaries around languages are permeable. Although the conversation with people who use other languages is

difficult, it is possible, and probably essential, if we are to move on from the objectifying gaze on difference.

It is not also important just to acknowledge my interpretation of this language process, but also that of potential readers. This thesis is written and published in English, meaning that many of the people the thesis talks about and is relevant to in Bolivia will be unable to read it, and may not be able to access it. Having said that, I have agreed with CEDLA to share a research summary in Spanish and to do the same with any interview participants if they wish.

3.6. Chapter Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has laid out the methodology adopted for this thesis, the fieldwork conducted to collect the data and the data analysis process. It also summarised and explored some of my reflections upon the research process, notably during the fieldwork. To summarise, this thesis is a qualitative one, based on qualitative data and analysis. There are various ways of researching with, about, on or for children. Ultimately, this thesis considers children as the focus of the research and considers them as both subjects and participants in the task given to them to elicit data.

Whilst most of the data was collected during the fieldwork period, this thesis is not solely an empirical contribution, but rather, the application of the data, reading and theory to the Bolivian context makes a collectively bigger contribution. This contribution is outlined in the Conclusion to this thesis.

It is pertinent to mention here, that like most PhDs, the research was not a linear process. Rather, from day one to the final day of the PhD, reading has been conducted throughout, as has writing. Whilst the data collection period sat in the middle, analysis of this has been during fieldwork and until the final days of writing.

The next chapter, Chapter Four, is the first chapter of this thesis to use the empirical data outlined in this chapter, and looks at the debates on child labour in Bolivia. It does so by concentrating on organised working children, their positions and understandings on work, as well as their relationship and dialogue with other institutional actors, the ILO and the Bolivian Government.

Chapter Four. Child Labour Debates in Bolivia and Implications of Childhood, Rights and Citizenship

4.1. Chapter Introduction

This chapter is the first of two that will make substantial use of the primary and secondary data collected and analysed during fieldwork in Bolivia, the process of which was outlined in the previous chapter. This chapter will examine the actors involved in the child labour debates in Bolivia, their relationships, and their positions both on and within the debates, in order to expand and open up the debates over whether children should work or not. There is a deliberate focus on the role and actions of the Bolivian NNATs in this chapter and the significance of rights to them, due to this thesis' focus on children and youth and their perspectives. However, it also brings in the other institutional actors involved, including the ILO and the Bolivian Government, as these are also key to understanding these debates. The chapter also analyses these debates, the actors involved and their claims in relation to the conceptual framework that grounds this research - which was articulated in Chapter Two - and involves the intersection of understandings from childhood, citizenship and rights. Particular attention is given towards the significance of rights, which is related to how organised working children comprehend their work.

Using the data presented and analysed, this chapter argues firstly that the debates over child labour in Bolivia are complex and multifaceted. The positions of the actors discussed in this chapter have their views grounded in certain understandings about work, and also what a childhood should entail. Whilst there are fundamental disagreements between NNATs, the Bolivian Government and the ILO, notably over whether child labour should be outright banned in order to protect children, or whether work should be legalised and children allowed to work. However there is agreement over protecting children from mistreatment by all parties. Secondly, organised working children, in articulating their work through rights, and campaigning for the right to work show that there is a complex web of rights which children have a nuanced understanding of and relationship with. Their campaign and subsequent claim for the right to work is both an example of a localised and living rights understanding and demonstrates enacted citizenship.

There is no established way of trying to understand the debates over child labour in Bolivia. Looking at it through the positions of the different actors helps us to understand who is involved, why and what they are saying. This chapter concentrates on the organised and most prominent actors, with an emphasis on NNATs. There are of course other actors involved in the debates about children's work. For example, families and parents of working children could also be considered, as could schools. However, the three actors in this chapter are the main protagonists in current debates, actions and policy development in Bolivia, so are the focus here. Furthermore, the actors addressed in this chapter are organised bodies that have had significant dialogue with and an influence on the ongoing debates. Analysing the perspectives of the actors in this chapter, and those of unrepresented children in the following chapter (Chapter Five), provides a comprehensive examination of the debates, the different understandings and their implications.

This chapter is thus structured as follows. The first section presents the main actors, and explains who they are and why they are significant in the debates. The section outlines the role and positions of the NNATs and the draft law that they wrote. It then looks at the ILO and Bolivian Government, bringing in Bolivian Law 548 and ILO conventions. The second section examines the main points of contention, debate and agreement between each of these actors, over whether children should work or not in Bolivia, and the ratification of Law 548. In section 4.4., the chapter focuses on the significance of rights for working children. The final part of the chapter looks at several discussion points that arise from these debates and the positions of the actors on (1) rights, citizenship and organised working children, (2) childhood norms and ideals, and (3) agency and participation.

4.2. Organised and Prominent Actors, and the Debates

4.2.1. NNATs – their draft law and the call for legalisation of work

This section outlines the position and role of NNATs in the debates over child labour in Bolivia. It presents and examines the NNAT's draft law and the three main arguments they make within the debates on child labour in Bolivia: age-based discrimination, seeing children's work as worthy, and the economic necessity of work. It also explores their call for the legalisation of work.

Five of the interviewees (first mentioned in the previous chapter) explained to me the history of the movement and how it functioned: Fred, Dave, Tony, Rupert and Paul.⁵⁰ The following section explains the movement in detail based on information gathered from these interviews, as well as other interviews in which the movement came up. The document *Mi Fortaleza*, the book and draft law written by NNATs, also provides a lot of information on this history of the movement.

Working children and adolescents have been organised in Bolivia since the 1990s. Inspiration and support came from organised working children in Peru, and a regional Latin American and Caribbean movement was formed over 30 years ago, known as MOLACNATs (*Movimiento Latinoamericano y del Caribe de Niños, Niños y Adolescentes Trabajadores*/Latin American and Caribbean Movement of Working Children and Adolescents). The NNATs in Bolivia are now part of the Latin American network, which also includes Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela.

UNATsBO (Unión de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Trabajadores de Bolivia/ Union of Child and Adolescent Workers of Bolivia) is the largest organisation of national representation and was formed in 2003. They were involved in the World Summit of Movement of Working Children in India in 1996 and Germany in 2003 (Prestel, 2008). There are other organisations across the country, as shown in Table 8 below, but the interviewees above are involved in the first four (shaded grey).

⁵⁰ Fred had been an active NNATs member when he was younger and lived in El Alto. He did agricultural tasks in his hometown and then worked in a market in El Alto. Tony was an adult collaborator and had been involved in Unions and NGOs throughout his career. Dave had been an active NNATs member when he was younger and was involved in research in different capacities. Rupert had been involved with NNATs through several of the NGOs that he worked for, and had written about them. Paul had worked for several international NGOs which supported the NATs, and had been involved with the movement since the 1990s.

<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Location</i>
UNATsBO	National
TAYPINATs	La Paz
MODENATs	La Paz
CONNATsDEA	El Alto
MOLDENATs	Llallagua
CONNATsOP	Potosí
ORNATs	Oruro
MONATsCSRUZ	Santa Cruz
NAYJTs	Sucre
OINATs	Tarija
UNATsCO	Cochabamba

Table 9. Table showing list of NNATs organisations in Bolivia functioning at the time of fieldwork.

Several interviewees explained the workings of the different NNATs organisations. There are sub groups located in the largest towns and cities in Bolivia. Children and adolescents are members based on geographic location rather than employment sector. Among the common jobs that are represented are *lustrabotas* (shoe shiners), newspaper vendors, brick makers, *voceadores* (bus conductors – like Dave, one of the interviewees), and miners (common in Potosí). Most organisations are located in urban centres or regional capitals. The exception are in Llallagua and Tarija, which aim to represent rural areas, where family and community work is very common, and has been protected since the 2009 constitution and also in Law 548.

NNATs in Bolivia, as in other countries have drawn support and backing from International NGOs such as Save the Children, Terre des Hommes (in Switzerland and Germany) and World Vision. This has been in the form of financial backing and institutional support, such as helping organise meetings, facilitating research and providing platforms to meet and discuss. This institutional support has been vital to the successes of the movement, particularly networking, collaborating, being so visible amongst civil society and influencing policy.

Most members join around 12 years of age, although there are records of members as young as 6 or 7. Most also join on recommendation from current members who they may work alongside. Recruitment often occurs via word of mouth, with current members or

collaborators informing non-members they might work with or meet whilst working in the same area. Non-members can then attend meetings and if they like the group, they are invited to join. For all intents and purposes the unions are run by and for children and adolescents, but with the assistance of adult ‘collaborators’. It is common that when the children reach 18 (and become adults), they stay on to assist in the running of the unions as collaborators, in a consultant type role. Collaborators often accompany members to meetings, but it is stressed that ‘...they are not the representatives, leaders, tutors, owners of the movement. To collaborate means: to co-assume, to co-promote, to co-accompany, to co-make decision, to co-participate, without substituting or supplanting the NNATs...’ (INFEJANT, 2006, p.165)

The NNATs members I spoke to, as well as those documented in *Mi Fortaleza* and by other researchers (for example, see Yu, 2016; Prestel, 2008), were quick to point out the benefits of being organised and being members of the unions. It gave them a safe space in which to meet, organise and discuss their ideas. It was also a social space to meet others in a similar situation. Being a member allowed them to develop skills such as teamwork, leadership, public speaking, debate: vitally important to those who did not participate in mainstream schooling and education. They also developed political awareness and gained exposure to political processes and spaces, mechanisms and structures. Paul (I15),⁵¹ who has worked in various capacities in support of the NNATs explained that, “The organization is as a union to defend (children’s) interests, that is one thing, but the greater, the much more important function is self-esteem, is to have networks, friendships, support among them that (share) the same voice (...) because otherwise you are alone.”

As previously mentioned, prior to the ratification of the Law 548, UNATsBO drafted their own law, *Mi Fortaleza*, in 2010. This was a long and comprehensive document produced throughout 2010 as part of a consultation process among children, adolescents, workers, teachers, support organisations, professionals and local and national authorities, with the support of Save the Children and Terre des Hommes (Switzerland and Germany). The document is divided into two. The first half comprises testimonials from/of working children and adolescents, based on ‘demands, perceptions, experiences, testimonies, strengths and difficulties of the children and adolescent organized and unorganized workers of the cities of Cochabamba, La Paz, El Alto, Santa Cruz, Potosi, Oruro and

⁵¹ (I15) is the reference for the interview, as explained in Chapter Three. Please see Appendix 2 for a full list.

Tarija and in indigenous communities of North Potosí' (UNATsBO, 2010, p.9). The second half is a proposal entitled '*Mi fortaleza es mi trabajo: de la demanda a la propuesta*' ('My work is my strength: from the demands to the proposal') which is UNATsBO's own draft of a law, based on this consultation process (ibid).

This draft law stated that working children themselves should be responsible for deciding what age they should be entitled to work. As such, the law had no minimum age. The demands of working children were summarised by Liebel (2015: 541) as:

- Social and political recognition for working boys and girls in Bolivia;
- Right to an education which is accessible to all working boys and girls, inclusive and linked to better life chances;
- Recognition of the organised participation of working boys and girls in devising new laws and proposals to bring about the transformation of a colonial state into a plurinational and community state and reflect its needs;
- Protection and support for working boys and girls against infringements of their rights at their places of work and in schools, families and communities;
- Ending discrimination against, and stigmatisation of, working children (boys and girls);
- Recognition of the economic contribution, which working boys and girls make to the country.

Despite this draft law, the NNATs were not initially to be involved in formulating the new law to be implemented by the Government (Law 548), but protested their exclusion from it after the Government released a precursor to Law 548. On 17th December 2013, UNATsBO members from multiple groups (Table 9, above) across the country marched in La Paz, in response to the Government's new law to maintain the minimum age for work at 14 years old, in line with ILO policy. The street protests were met by riot police. As described in newspaper reports, claims were made that the children were trying to break into the Presidential Palace, and the police violently repressed the demonstration with force, pepper spray, and tear gas. Some children were reportedly as young as 8 years old (Stewart, 2017; NTN24, 2013; El Pais, 2013). At the same time, the children met with the ombudsman's office and other government members and expressed their dissatisfaction at not being listened to and suppressed. The following day UNATsBO members were invited to breakfast with Evo Morales, who promised to listen to them.

From then, UNATsBO members were involved with the drafting of Law 548 and had some of their claims taken into consideration before its promulgation in 2014.

We can see from the draft law, and from their involvement in Law 548, that NNATs take the position that work should be both legalised and valued. This is based on three main assumptions, and is arguably the other side to the abolish/eradicate argument mentioned in Chapter One (and which will be examined a little later during the discussion section of this chapter). However, it is of course, not so simple. The first assumption is that by making child labour legal, children can be better protected in the work that they do, as many proponents of making various drugs or prostitution legal for example, would also argue. The second assumption is that work that children do can and should be valued for the contribution it makes either to society or the family unit, and for what children gain from it. The third assumption is that it should be up to children, as active agents, to decide whether they work or not.

These assumptions and the view of the NNATs are articulated through three main arguments. Fred, one of the former NNATs members interviewed, stated how, during the campaign to lower the legal working age, “one of our general objectives was to see child labour as worthy” (I18). His comment shows that those who work see their work as valuable, whereas there is an assumption on the other side, that of the ILO and eradication, that child labour is not seen in this way – or at least the value is ignored. This is the first point of their argument. Fred also added how, “prevent is no longer [to] eradicate, now it is to prevent child labour i.e forced labour [and]... prevent exploitation” (ibid). Fred thus distinguishes types of child labour: child labour that is valuable, and child labour that is exploitative. Dave too supported this position and distinction. When asked about explaining the type of different work that children and young people do, he said how “it is necessary to differentiate (work) from exploitation” (I11). He referred to exploitative work not as work, but as a crime. Although he did not define exploitative work, and I did not question him on it, he constantly linked it throughout the interview to something that was forced upon children.

Secondly, NNATs argue that the attempt to eradicate child labour is a form of age-based discrimination, as they believe that they, as children, should have the right to work at whatever age they (the children themselves) deem suitable (UNATsBO, 2015). From their perspective, their right to work should be viewed as a human right. In this sense,

they believe banning child labour is seen as ageism, and raises several challenges around children's citizenship – notably about whether, if citizenship is a status working children are classed as citizens, or whether their work classes them as citizens. Furthermore, the NNATs' demand for the right to work should be in dignified conditions, about which the discussion section of this chapter talks in greater detail.

The third argument articulated by the NNATs, is that children work out of economic necessity. Children work because they have to. Fred, Dave and Tony all attested to this in various ways in the interviews. Children either work to support themselves or to support their families. Seeing as they have to work because of poverty or their economic situation, NNATs and their supporters believe there is no sense in making it illegal as this does not solve the problem. They claim that making children's work illegal can actually drive down wages and increase dangerous risks. Supporters believe Law 548 offers a legal safeguard against those risks. However, as to how that works in practice is debatable and is mentioned in section 1.4.2.

These three arguments are discussed in the discussion section at the end of the chapter, specifically in how they related to and can be understood through the conceptual framework. For now, however, it is pertinent to bring in the other two most prominent actors, examine why they are significant in the debates and their positions, and their relations with the NNATs.

4.2.2. ILO, child labour standards and Bolivia

As Chapter One outlined, the ILO is heavily involved with the phenomenon of child labour, mainly by setting standards and attempting to eradicate it. Unlike Chapter One however, this section examines the ILO's position of eradication, which makes specific reference to the Bolivian context. This section relies on documents publicly available from the ILO, including committee notes on application of ILO standards, since 2014, and press releases since 2014 on the situation in Bolivia. It also relies on information from an interview with Joe, a senior staff member at the ILO based in Geneva who works on the Latin American region.⁵²

⁵² As Chapter Three briefly mentioned, getting an interview with the ILO was difficult. This was in part due to the frosty relations between them and my host organisation (CEDLA) during the fieldwork. However, I also believe in part it was due to the attention on Bolivia and the ILO at the time of the fieldwork, which was still within a couple of years of the promulgation of Law 548). I

The ILO were aware of Bolivia's plan to lower the legal working age and had advised the Government against it. Following the ratification of Bolivia's new law, the ILO set up a task force within a committee of experts on the Bolivian case, the availability of technical assistance (which Bolivia apparently rejected), and Bolivian delegates were invited to Geneva to present their case. This technical assistance, according to the ILO, includes manuals, recommendations and a staff mission by ILO staff on how best to apply international standards.

The ILO present the most common and stark argument in the debate over child labour: that child labour should be eradicated and no children should work. With their programme IPEC, the ILO have been aiming for a 'world free from child labour', with concentrated efforts on its worst forms (ILO, 2013). The ILO is steadfast in their position and along with UNICEF, believe that in principle child labour is fundamentally intolerable in all circumstances and contexts because it is an abuse of children's innocence, conflicts with their right to protection, and removes children from education. When asked about the ILO's standpoints Joe, tried to put their position as clearly as possible:

When we refer to child labour, there are two examples... (1) below the legal minimum age for employment or (2) [those who] are working and those that have reached that minimum age but are below 18 (that children are known as internationally) but are in extreme forms of exploitations which are known as the worst forms of child labour, mostly hazardous forms of child labour but also slavery type situations... no child labour is ever permissible. Those situations would then be called youth employment.

(I21)

This position is based on the ILO's own definition of child labour and youth employment, explained in Chapter One, which brings about issues associated with definitions. Child labour is never acceptable for example, whereas youth employment is. The questions then arise, what constitutes each type of work, what constitutes a child or youth, what is labour and what is employment? The ILO position raises more questions than are answered so

also believe there was an unwillingness of the ILO to talk outside of official communications – I was constantly fobbed off on the phone and in person whilst in La Paz. In the end, it took former colleague of mine who was working at the ILO in Geneva to set me up and speak with someone, Joe, who worked on Latin America generally, out of Geneva.

far. This is an issue that needs more attention and will be returned to in the next chapter. What is important for this chapter is that the ILO's position is based on an assumption that child labour, by ILO's definition, is intolerable. Why is this the case? As ILO and IPEC publications show, and Joe attested to, child labour denies children the opportunity to develop physically and mentally to their full potential (ILO-IPEC, 2013). In addition, the ILO states that child labour is also morally reprehensible. There are thus two arguments: a moral argument and a developmental argument.

The general aim of eradication is to protect children's right to education, as the ILO and Joe attest to: "If you are fulltime at work you cannot be fulltime in education" (I21). Although, of course, not all work children do is full time and many combine it with education, as the statistics on Bolivia show (Chapter One). The ILO and UNICEF also seem to make the assumption that children do not choose to work but that it is an unavoidable consequence of family poverty, and if families were better off or better empowered, then children would not work: "It is best to empower the family, to give them the required means so they do not need to work, the family does not need it, and so they can go to school" (I21). However, further on this point, the ILO do not want this reality of poverty to be a justification for children working. In a statement responding to Bolivia's new law, it stated that 'The ILO wishes to point out that certain statements made in the framework of the adoption of the new Code imply that child labour is an inevitable reality' (ILO, 2014: n.p). Rather, they want that reality to be challenged by social protection measures or by empowering the family, as Joe said.

Because of the difficulty in speaking to the ILO - both physically whilst I was in Bolivia, and the tendency of both Joe and their publications to refer to child labour generally, rather than with specific situations in the Bolivian context - the argument to eradicate child labour is not specific to Bolivia but applied to child labour worldwide. However, the ILO's eradication argument in Bolivia has three dimensions: firstly, that there are a high number of children who work in Bolivia (statistics of which were reported in Chapter One); secondly, that there are hazardous occupations in Bolivia that children are involved in (although, as the next section will show, even in the new law, these are still illegal); and finally, the third argument, is that work has no place in an ideal childhood.

Further important considerations to take from the ILO's position are, firstly, the belief that education and formal schooling are of utmost importance to children. Childhood is

to be dedicated towards education. Secondly, child labour is a violation of children's innocence. This carries several assumptions with it: that children are inherently innocent, and childhood should be an innocent time, free from anything that might compromise this. Thirdly, child labour is a violation of a child's right to protection. Again, this carries the assumption that if children are involved in work, they are not being protected. All of the above are assumptions based on a particular view of childhood, whether it is framed as a 'normal' childhood, or the minority world childhood. Either way, this is only one, idealistic view of childhood amongst many, and has previously been criticised for its overly western bias, negating many contexts in the Global South, as well as the opinions and input of children themselves as to how they understand or idealise their own childhoods. Yet, it shows that the ILO's position is situated and grounded in certain social constructions of and assumptions about childhood. This will be discussed later in the discussion section of this chapter. Lastly, the ILO links child labour to perilous family situations. The assumptions attached to this are that children have little to no agency when it comes to work, not choosing to work but being forced by their families or economic circumstances.

4.2.3. The Bolivian Government and Law 548

The Bolivian government is another important actor in the debates over child labour in Bolivia. This section explains the role of the Bolivian Government and why it is significant to the debates. Two of my interviewees were from the Ministry of Labour and Ministry of Justice. I tried to interview someone from *Las Defensorías* but in part due to the failings mentioned next, was unable to.

As the prologue in this thesis explained, the Bolivian state has undertaken a process of change – a rejection of previous neoliberal ideas in the pursuit of *suma qamaña* or *vivir bien*. Of relevance to this section and this chapter, is the commitment from the Bolivian Government to try and alleviate poverty, through CCTs, as an intervention within child labour debates to try and reduce the necessity of children working, and also a demonstration of the Government's commitment to keeping children in school (although at the same time, Law 548 lowers the legal working age). The CCTs have come under criticism, for example McGuire (2013), who explains how the payments are not enough to detract children and adolescents from working (or their families encouraging them to do so), and the inefficiencies of the state in administering the benefits. In addition, the

Juancito Pinto, at the time of research, was only for primary school children, whereas secondary school children are more likely to be engaged in or encouraged to work (ibid).⁵³

Prior to the implementation of Law 548, the new constitution in 2009 introduced a slight change in common child labour policy to that found in the previous constitution and other countries in the region. The new constitution did not ban all children working outright, but rather, banned any forced labour and exploitation, whilst simultaneously allowing for family and community work.

Whilst Bolivia is seen as the first country to involve working children in the creation of child labour policy (with Law 548), this was not the Government's initial intention. Rather, the Government aimed to maintain the minimum age of 14 as the legal working age, in compliance with the ILO. However, as previously discussed, when the draft code was released, organised working children protested. This protest thus shows a direct impact of children's voices and campaigning on policy in Bolivia, which goes directly against ILO policy. The Government thus sided with the NNATs by amending the code before it was ratified to lower the minimum working age and was in favour of this legalisation approach with the aim of protecting working children. Yaz, a senior official and child labour eradication specialist at the Ministry of Labour stated:

So to summarize because I think this is what has not been understood very well of our code in Bolivia, that we have not legalized work since the age of 10. Bolivia recognizes the minimum age in 14 years, but recognizes that under the age of 14 there are children who are working, who did not have a protection system.

(19)

This quote indicates two things. Firstly, that the new law is designed to protect working children. This theme of protection is a pertinent one in the debate over children working. It is based on the idea that instead of children being protected from work, children can be protected whilst at or in work. Secondly, the quote suggests that the Government feels that its position and code has been misunderstood. Yaz also continued by stating "I believe that this government... is showing signs that really the issue of childhood and

⁵³ Interestingly, one family with whom I stayed with during the preliminary fieldwork said that most people that they knew (they did not include themselves...) spent the money on birthday presents for their children, which suggests immediate consumption rather than investment.

adolescence is important, then that is encouraging for me. The code is a leap for me in terms of, recognition of rights of children, adolescents” (I9).

When looking at the actors involved, it is important to look in more detail at the role of Evo Morales and governmental agencies. When siding with the working children’s unions, for example, Morales stated that he was a former child labourer. He has been quoted as having worked herding llamas, selling ice cream, baking bread and collecting coca leaves from an early age. During breakfast at the palace the day after the NAT’s protest in December 2013, he apparently expressed his sympathy towards their cause and is quoted as saying ‘The state shouldn’t outlaw child labor. It should protect them’ and ‘to eliminate work for children in Bolivia would be to eliminate people’s social conscience’ (Otis, 2014: np; Simpson, 2014: np). Joe, of the ILO, countered this by saying that not all working children can grow up to be President. The optimist might add that at least aspiration can be there. Manu, a labour economist working on projects related to childhood development in Bolivia, also commented on this by saying “you have to remember that many people in the Government, have actually been there, have actually been child laborers....one of the labour ministers that passed this law, he actually worked as child and he worked in a factory, and when you talk to him, he actually would tell you how great that was because, it allowed him to start a career” (I21).

The Bolivian state bureaucracy is itself highly differentiated, with several agencies responsible for the enforcement of child labour laws. The Ministry of Labour enforces child labour laws, in part through its Fundamental Rights Unit, refers cases to the Labour Courts for adjudication of penalties and unpaid wages, engages municipal Offices of the Child Advocate/Ombudsman to ensure the protection of children’s rights and assists in the implementation of Law 548. The Municipal Offices of the Child Advocate/*Defensoría de la Niñez y Adolescencia* authorize children from the age of 14, and some between 12 and 14 years old, to engage in work and register them in the Government’s Child and Adolescent Information System (SINNA), protect the rights and welfare of children, including by accompanying child labour inspectors; and refer criminal child labour cases to prosecutors and for social services. Lastly, the Ministry of Justice and Transparency creates and administers SINNA, in which municipal Offices of the Child Advocate register 12 and 13-year old workers authorized to engage in self-employment or work for third parties, as required by the Child and Adolescent Code.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Or at least they did until the law was pulled in 2018.

Several interviewees, including Rupert and Paul, as well as the ILO (2018), US Government (2017) and Lind (2016), have pointed out several failings with some of the institutions mentioned above. Firstly, the ombudsman service is a complex state body; it is made of up social workers, lawyers, psychologists and other professionals. Although there is meant to be a service in every municipality, some do not have fully functioning ones because of a lack of trained professionals to fill the roles. Secondly, and related to this, not only is there a lack of professionals, but there is a lack of funding to help run the services and train new staff. In 2017, the budget for these organisations was cut by the state (percentage or cost unknown). Thirdly, there is also a lack of awareness of the law from the staff, with one interviewee mentioning that staff were unsure whether parents were supposed to come to them to register, or whether they needed to go out and conduct outreach. The US DoL (2017, p. 4) also reported how ‘In La Paz and Santa Cruz, Child Advocate Offices reported additional barriers to implementation of the registration section of the Code. These barriers include lack of cooperation from parents in registering their working children and prohibitive financial obstacles to obtain proper paperwork required for registration’.

Linked to this is how some view the law-making process and implementation in Bolivia, especially under Morales. When asked about Law 548, Dave, for example, said the following: “I want to be honest, the problem in Bolivia now is that they are making laws of everything and nothing... there is something that we have criticized (that is) serious institutional support... that can guarantee that the laws are complied with” (I11). Manny too, supported this by saying that, “the government in this country just feels that when they pass a law, everything is okay” (I1). Anecdotally, friends in Bolivia commented on how Morales and other politicians like to publicise new laws and a photo opportunity, but then move on to the next issue without any real monitoring or implementation efforts. Thus, there are institutional concerns over the implementation of this law.

Several other senior officials have been quoted on the new code, which further shows the Government’s position. Vice-President García Linera had this to say when the code was ratified in 2014: “It was not easy to draw up, as there are many international agreements which the state has signed in relation to the rights of children and adolescents. However, there is also the reality in Bolivia, our own particular version of the working and living situations of boys and girls in our country” (MJyTI, 2014: n.p). Senator Adolfo Mendoza

reinforced this position by saying "Child labor already exists in Bolivia, and it's difficult to fight it. Rather than persecute it, we want to protect the rights and guarantee the labor security of children" (Al Jazeera, 2014: n.p; Simpson, 2014: n.p). Thus, the Bolivian Government justify their position as a reflection on the reality of working children in Bolivia. Children will work, so rather than banning it, it is better to protect it.

4.3. Unpacking the Debates: Points of Contention and Agreement

Thus far the chapter has presented three of the main and most vocal and prominent actors in the child labour debates in Bolivia and examined their significance in the debates, but in relative isolation from one another. This section addresses the relations between the three sets of actors above, and explores how their agreements, as well as disagreements, help us to understand current debates. This analysis is based both on interviews and official positions and statements. It will be seen that the actors' positions do not sit in isolation from each other; rather they have been developed in reaction and relation to each other's views. The purpose of this is to further unpack the debates over child labour in Bolivia.

4.3.1. Points of contestation and disagreement

The first point of contestation to note is between the ILO and Bolivian State, whereby Law 548 directly contravenes ILO conventions that Bolivia had signed up to. The ILO staff member, Joe, commented on the Government's position during our interview:

The Bolivian Government took a decision when they knew it was against the law... but the way they enact it... they are not solving the problem by lowering the minimum age, so now by law you have less children breaking the law but you are not solving the problem. The main aim of the minimum age is to have children in school. By having this law you are putting the burden on those which are poor, on the families on the children. And those children will have a schooling or a poor schooling and they will perpetuate the cycle of poverty, and their children will work.

(I21)

This quote from a senior member of the ILO mirrors the ILO's official position, which was also released as a statement (below). Here the main problem of children working is not just that it contravenes international law. What is emphasised is that children who work are not in school (or not doing well in school). In contrast, the quote from Yaz from the Ministry of Labour in the previous section, shows that for the Bolivian Government, the main problem is having children working without protection.

The ILO in their official statement also explained why it disagrees with Law 548, and how the law contravenes its standards, specifically C.138: '(Law 548) allows for children and adolescents aged 10 to 14 years to work in self-employment. It should be noted that Convention No. 138 does not allow work or employment (including self-employment) under the specified minimum working age, namely 14 years in the case of Bolivia'. The ILO further adds that 'children engaged in such activities... could still be engaged in hazardous work that could also hinder their education' (ILO, 2014a: np). This is based on the premise that work is not a form of education. The argument on the other side is that work is indeed a form of education. It might not be considered formal education or school in the western sense, which international standards are based on, but from the cultural and life experience point of view, this work has an important educational component. It is a learning process for children, as was explained by some participants and will be seen in Chapter Five.

Whilst Law 548 states that all children and adolescents must attend school, one interviewee Frank, from an international NGO (I5) raised a concern that, if a child was doing the minimum compulsory hours of schooling, and the maximum hours of work which the code allows for, then that would not be considered a healthy lifestyle for a child or adolescent. By way of example, a common school day is six to six and a half hours, which can be in the morning or afternoon depending on the school. The maximum working hours for under 14s is six hours per day and 30 hours per week. For over 14s, it is eight hours and 40 per week. This, the interviewee said, is not very healthy, and is not really protecting the safety of children. Thus, we see here two points of contestation: the question of education and going against international law. The discussion section in this chapter will unpack this further.

The ILO also questions the unavoidable reality of such work. In a statement following the ratification of Law 548 the ILO stated the following:

The ILO wishes to point out that certain statements made in the framework of the adoption of the new Code imply that child labor is an unavoidable reality. Numerous studies show the intergenerational cycle between poverty and child labor. Child labor cannot be justified as a "necessary evil" or as a development strategy. Governments have an obligation to protect children and adolescents from child labor, among other measures, by establishing social protection floors that protect them from poverty.

Source: ILO, 2014a: n.p

So, the ILO believe the way to tackle child labour is through social welfare and protection measures for children. The ILO disagree with framing it as an unavoidable reality or necessary evil, which is how they see the Bolivian Government's justification for implementing Law 548.

One of the last points of contention stems from a concern from the ILO, stating that 'the new Code also goes against the global trend to progressively increase the minimum age for admission to employment, in line with the age for completing compulsory education. A number of countries, including several in Latin America, have in later years adopted legislation to this effect.' (ILO, 2014a: np). This is a very interesting point. Whereas the position taken by the Government is framed by the minister mentioned earlier as something positive, that Bolivia is starting a trend to recognise children's rights. The ILO's position on this is that to do this is to go against the global trend of raising the minimum age for employment.

While these points of contention above in part come from the ILO's disapproval of Law 548, the NNATs weighed in on these points. Tony, a NNATs collaborator, for example disagrees about children being unable to balance work and education: "When I started working with working children in the early 2000s, of 100 children 95 did not study and 5 did (referring to being in school)... the case now is that working children study and work and balance both things. To say the child who works is a child who doesn't study is not true anymore" (I14). His opinion contradicts the common narrative against child labour; that children cannot or do not work and study at the same time. While Figures 3 and 4 in Chapter One indicate that the majority of working children in Bolivia do combine work and schooling, to examine the effects of this would require examining the statistics

further, as well as their educational attainment, what they were learning by working, and their livelihood situation and income.

Thus, from these contestations we can see several assumptions linked to conceptions of childhood. Firstly, regarding education, there is a disagreement over whether children can successfully combine formal schooling and work, with the assumption that childhood(s) should be dedicated to education. In support of this assumption, is the belief from the global child labour agenda that countries should be raising the legal working age, based on the assumption to protect children globally, rather than lowering the legal working age. Lastly, there is little to no attention from the global child labour agenda given to working children's own agency – whether or not they actually choose to or want to work. The NNATs and their supporters sought to directly challenge this.

4.3.2. Disagreement over rural and community work

Another point of contention is an interlinking one between the protection of children in hazardous work and children working in community settings, which are predominantly in rural areas. The foundations of this discussion are based around Article 128 of Law 548, which allows for legitimate and legal work, regardless of age, which can be domestic or agricultural work performed by children in their communities and or in familial contexts (Law 548). This work is:

...framed within the historical and cultural context of the country... (and)... these are activities undertaken by girls or boys together with their families in indigenous communities of farmers, of Afro-American and inter-cultural origin. These activities are culturally valued and accepted, and their aim is the development of basic skills needed for children's own lives, as well as strengthening community life in the context of "living Well" (Vivir Bien). They are based on traditional knowledge and include sewing, harvesting and the conservation of natural resources such as forests, water and animal. They always contain elements of play and recreation as well as artistic and religious dimensions.

Source: Law 548. Translation done by author.

Fred, among others, explained how “In the village, in the countryside the child who does not work (he used the word *trabajo*) is not considered part of the community”. Chris, another interviewee elaborated that, “In the countryside, in the culture mainly Aymara and also Quechua in the community, everyone had to contribute, if the child took care of the sheep.... that you do not be lazy, be useful yes... everyone looked to contribute, to contribute to the reality, to the family economy” (I18).⁵⁵

Thus, in rural areas, children’s work is grounded in community practices and there are risks of exclusion if children do not participate. Their work does is not necessarily orientated towards financial gain or income, but rather goods to be produced and used or traded, part of the family economy. Both interviewees, Chris and Fred, elaborated how work or activities in rural areas are seen in the context of children contributing to the larger family or community unit, and participating in rural life.

The ILO on the other hand, raised specific concern about this type of work and its protection by Law 548:

The ILO is also concerned that the new Code may not provide adequate protection for children and adolescents engaged in hazardous work in the family or social community in fishing in rivers and lakes, in livestock rearing or in masonry. The same law considers these activities as dangerous and, consequently, prohibits them. However, it excludes them from such consideration when they are carried out in the family or social community.

Source: ILO, 2014a: n.p

While Law 548 lists several types of hazardous work that it does ban outright, it also provides a provision for the protection of work that is ‘carried out within the family or community sphere’ (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2014, p.42). This is very ambiguous, which is what the ILO is not satisfied with, concerned that this might be a loophole that enables children to legally work in hazardous types of work because they are protected under this family and community sphere. This contention plays out as one between universal international standards vs. local cultural norms. The universal international standards want what is best for children, globally, and are based on

⁵⁵ Chris had worked with working children in a variety of capacities and currently worked for a church and various community projects in El Alto. He was originally from Poland, but had lived in Bolivia for decades, so provided a unique perspective.

protecting the rights of children as individuals, whereas the local, cultural norms or standards perhaps are orientated towards the best interests of the family and community at heart, or in addition believe that working as a child is beneficial to them.

This indigenous/rural aspect to the debates is a particular aspect to the Bolivian case which perfectly illustrates the global/local contention. It is also related to a conflict that communitarians have with the UNCRC, who reject prioritising the rights of an individual in favour of an emphasis on obligations for duties within the wider community, as suggested by Archard (2002). The conflict here is over children working in rural areas, which is potentially harmful and dangerous work for the children, yet is for the benefit of the community. The supporters of protecting such work, including the advocates of Law 548, also feel in a way that such work is for the benefit of children. This attests to Hammersley (2015, p.575), that the ascription of rights to children, is entangled with the ‘complex patterns of values, rules, rights and obligations that make up different societies; and that claims about children’s rights must be assessed in the context of these’.

There are also racial and ethnic undertones to such work, which carries over to urban areas because of patterns of migration. Rupert (I2) highlighted that “child labour has an ethnic connotation in this country, it is generally said the working child is indigenous, generally. If you are a Quechua or Aymara child you are more likely to be a worker.” George presented another side to this, that these working children are seemingly invisible. He told a story of a programme he helped run where children living on the street baked bread to sell on the street. He stated how a young, European volunteer he worked with (white, blonde hair) went out on the streets to sell bread to raise money, and attracted the attention of TV crews, wanting to know his story. George elaborated further by saying “but there is also a racist vision, working children are children of dark complexion, black hair, Aymara traits, Quechua, etc., and well the meaning of being an Aymara or Quechua child is different for this racist society than being white, thenthe situation is obviously different” (I10).

Yaz, the child labour eradication specialist from the Ministry of Labour offered another dynamic on this discussion:

The family or community work you will find in the world not only in Bolivia
you will find it in Europe, you will find it in Asia, you will find it in North

America... But what is community family work is positive and goes in the framework of development, intellectual, physical, psychological even with harmony nature with children and adolescents. What happens if I live in a place where we culturally, historically (we) live from fishing, I will teach my children fishing activity, but I do not teach them how to manage the nets how the boat is handled, I am depriving you of a knowledge that you have the right.

(I9)

The above quote raises questions about the passing of knowledge, within and between generations, and impositions of ideals. Questions then arise about what should take priority, local knowledge and values bound in the best interests of the community and preserving local knowledge(es), or international standards grounded in the so called best interests of children. Furthermore, what comes out of these debates is an attempt to decentre Western-centric values over the relationship between childhood and work.

Jaz, an NGO worker who has worked alongside NNAT groups, mentioned that “it's important that when we talk about child labour in the Andean worldview, child labour is not bad”. This raises questions about particular worldviews and how child labour is perceived. The NNATs, in response to the ILO advising the Bolivian Government to reconsider its position in relation to Law 548, released a statement which included the following:

The attempt to impose a universal and unique age from which a person can exercise his right to work is one of the colonial practices that seeks to homogenize and impose the significance that chronological age plays in the various cultures under ethnocentric criteria that attack not only to the sovereignty of Bolivia, but also ignore the richness of the plurality of ways of knowing and perceiving the world.

Source: UNATsBO (2015). Translation done by author.

This shows strong beliefs that the view of those that see child labour as negative and to be eradicated is just one possible worldview, and it is a view that mirrors colonial practices. The other, alternative world view, that stems from indigenous practices actually sees child labour as a positive. Accepting this worldview also protects Bolivian sovereignty, in their view. These differing worldviews also relate strongly to the differing ideas of childhood and what is best for a child.

Rupert, when questioned in an interview on this presented an insightful argument. He said that there is a risk that the exploitation of children is being ignored in the name of this “cultural protection” (I2). Yet, he also said that in a way that the policy of Law 548 to protect cultural work was positive racism.

This discussion on worldviews can be linked back to the state sponsored macro-economic policy of *vivir bien*, which seeks to deconstruct colonial practices and promote indigenous cultural practices. There is a general distrust of Western inspired standards by the Bolivian state, which the state, and as we have seen here - also from the NNATs, feel that imposing the global discourse on child labour is a challenge to Bolivian sovereignty. There is also a certain stubbornness to do things based on particular indigenous worldviews, rather than that of the West which can be illustrated by these debates over child labour.

The fabric of childhood studies allows us to understand this disagreement over rural and community work, particularly the work of Bühler-Niederberger (2008), who discusses the ways in which there is interplay between global influences and local practices which alter the perception of childhood. It relates to how there is not one way of what constitutes a positive and safe childhood, but rather competing ones. The ‘local’ view of Bolivia, encouraged by the state is in conflict with the more common, or ‘global’ view that the community work aforementioned should not be part of a positive and safe childhood.

4.3.2. Agreement and middle ground over children working

Despite several points of contention, there is agreement between the actors discussed in this section over the abolition of child labour, depending on certain things, notably, specific types of work and when child labour is defined in a particular way. Despite the attention of Western media and some ILO sources proclaiming that Bolivia wants to legalise child labour, the Bolivian state also recognises the unacceptability of certain types of work and forbids it.

The first area of agreement is that the exploitation of children through work must be forbidden. Regardless of whether an actor feels children’s work should be legal, or made illegal, whether it should be abolished or valued, there is agreement that children should

not be exploited through their work. Yaz emphasised this point: “because our political constitution of the state has obviously prohibited the exploitation of child labour or adolescents, that is prohibited, and we want to eradicate it from the root” (I9). This also links into the banning of the worst forms of child labour. The ILO, which wants all child labour banned, also has accelerated action towards the worst forms of child labour. The new law passed by the Bolivian Government also bans certain dangerous work, in line with ILO 182. In addition, UNATsBO in their draft law did a similar thing.

However, whereas the ILO lists more general types of work (section 1.2.1 of this thesis) – slavery, trafficking, prostitution, illicit activities and any work that harms children, both NNATs and the Bolivian Government are able, given the more focussed contextual scope of their laws (and draft law) to be more specific with the types of work that should be banned. Law 548 mirrors this position but adds to it specific industries, such as mining, working in brick factories and sugar cane plantations. So this is a point that brings about some agreement, that certain types of work should be banned because of harm that it can cause. Yet, there is no clear consistent and agreed upon definition of exploitation.

The NNATs in their draft law also set out types of work that should be prohibited. This is:

All types of forced labour or in conditions of exploitation, and work that:

- I. Is dangerous and unhealthy, that is, work that can affect his or her normal physical, mental and social development.
- II. Do not allow him or her to enjoy well-being in the company of his family or hinder his or her formative education.
- III. Children and adolescents are forced to perform without their consent or against their will.

Source: UNATsBO (2010, p.118) (Translated by author).

They also provide a very specific and exhaustive list of jobs, such as heavy manual work, work in quarries or mines, as machinists, working with dangerous chemicals, unpaid work in the home, to name but a few.

The second area of common ground is centred around education. As the interviewees in the previous section expressed, children working can often detract from education. This

is a common argument cited by the ILO, where they state that children should be removed from working situations as not to detract from their formal schooling. The point of agreement is that children's time should best be spent dedicated towards education, however whether that is through formal education, combining work and education, or learning through work is up for debate.

With regards to the legalisation of certain work through Law 548, one interviewee, Jan – a director of a Bolivian NGO which worked with children to protect their rights – expressed a reluctance as well as acceptance towards the stance taken. Although, she considered, maybe it would be better if children did not work, and if they do, it is better to protect them legally, with the eventual aim of children not working while they are at school. She stated that: “The ILO's position is to acknowledge in all countries of the world that children are indeed working, and in the way, they act, they raise eradication, they do not guarantee the protection of the rights of children” (I16). Manu, the labour economist, also weighed up both sides of this moral dilemma “Option one: you make it illegal and you have all these children that will actually be working anyway but you won't be able to protect them; or option two: you actually legalize it but if you're not going to be able to really follow up on this, it might be more complicated” (I1).

4.3.3. Misrepresentation, contravention and questions of illegality with regards to Law 548

A further aspect to these debates is how Law 548 has been portrayed outside of Bolivia, and the image this creates. When the law was ratified in June 2014, the media in the West were quick to report on the law, and according to Fred, were quick to misrepresent it. As he noted, “Unfortunately international media, the ILO and I know a lot of organizations, institutions, have misrepresented our objectives, because they thought we wanted to legalize child labour, but we did not” (I18). Indeed, intertwined in this is what constitutes child labour. For the ILO and their advocates it is basically any work under their minimum age of 15. However for antagonists, they see child labour as much more serious and detrimental.

One argument that was put across was that Bolivia, with the new law, had legalised child labour, just as Fred said. In the UK media, The Independent reported how ‘Bolivia becomes first nation to legalise child labour’ (Simpson, 2014: n.p), The Telegraph

‘Bolivia becomes first nation to legalise child labour from age 10’ (Telegraph, 2014: n.p) and continued with the lines ‘While most of the world is trying to diminish child labour, Bolivia has become the first nation to legalise it from age 10.’ The BBC questioned it as a step back (Watson, 2014: n.p). USA Today led with the question ‘Would you let your 10-year-old kid work? It's perfectly legal in this country’ (Eaton, 2018: n.p). Even away from the media, the ILO led with headlines on child labour. Yet, despite these headlines, the reports do go into detail on the law, and its restrictions on age and industry. The articles also show engagement with child workers, NNATs members and other proponents of the law. The focus on child labour, however, remains in the headlines and in the case of the Independent and Telegraph articles, end with emphasis on how the law could undo or halt the progress being made to eradicate child labour. Another source, from NPR (US), saw more than one side to it, going with ‘Bolivia Makes Child Labor Legal, In An Attempt To Make It Safer’, which aligns with the view of the Bolivian Government (NPR, 2014: n.p). Kirshnan, writing for COHA (Council on Hemispheric Affairs – 2014: n.p), saw an oxymoronic side to it as ‘Advancing Backwards’. Thus there is some engagement with both sides of the arguments discussed thus far in this chapter, somewhat contradicting what Felix said. Something to be taken from this is how some of these media sources are from the global north and thus are grounded in certain assumptions around children, work and childhood – that is that when another country lowers the legal working age, it should be with scepticism.

Following on from this point, Rupert mentioned how those outside Bolivia were more interested in the law than Bolivians themselves, which shows that this attention and scepticism are rooted in certain worldviews (from the north), whereas in the specific country context, it is not viewed the same way. He said:

Those who have written the most and talked about the subject are abroad or, in the ILO, or researchers, journalists, who [...] were interested in the subject, I have read more of the new law and the reduction of the minimum age in researchers or outsiders than in Bolivia [...] the issue is not a problem in Bolivia, in Bolivia child labor is not a problem.

(I2)

There are also questions raised by the implementation of Law 548 around the contravention of international standards, and the breaking of laws. First of all, the

international standards set by the ILO are legally binding, yet there are no enforcement agencies to enforce them in the same way that the Bolivian police and other institutions can enforce and practice Law 548. Rather, as Joe attested to, they are high standards set not by each of the member states and employers organisations, with which countries should then set their own national laws against. As van Daalen and Mabillard (2019) show, the ILO has limited tools with which to enforce compliance. However, the withdrawal of some of the code's provisions in 2018 by the Government, shows the significance of the pressure from the ILO and also the influence that the ILO can have on practical sanctions, as opposed to just statements condemning the law. Apparently, according to Vice President Linera, the USA threatened Bolivia with trade sanctions, as had the European Parliament (van Daalen and Mabillard, 2019; Liebel, 2019).

This section has unpacked the child labour debates in Bolivia, by concentrating on the main points of contention, the controversy over the legality of rural community work, points of agreement, and the alleged misrepresentation over the legalisation of child labour in Bolivia.

4.4. The Significance of Rights for Organised Working Children

This chapter now takes a slight direction change, or rather a focussing in on organised working children, concentrating on the rights of working children and the significance of these rights. This allows us to further understand their position within the child labour debates. Rights are a useful concept and lens to view work, as this section will show, and thus understand debates on work. This is in part because as Chapter One attested to, child labour has and can be framed as a contested human rights issue. As this section will now show, a rights discourse underpins how organised working children understand and articulate their work.

4.4.1. Rights and organised working children

In *Mi Fortaleza*, Pablinho, a NNATs member, elaborated in some detail about what rights mean to working children, and with some intricacy and nuance, that such discussions on rights are important.

When we talk about rights, we talk about free quality education, free quality healthcare, the possibility for leisure, the right to organise ourselves, the right to participate with different national institutions and the government in the decisions they make concerning us. Everything stems from the human rights approach and from that context, when we talk about work in dignity, we are talking about a work that you do because you like it, in which you have a fair salary and in which all these rights are guaranteed.”

Source: UNATsBO (2010) (Translated by author).

With specific reference to work however, a children’s right to work, as Liebel et al (2012, p.225) succinctly and pragmatically put it, is that ‘The right to work (as opposed to employment) is the individual child’s right to freely decide whether, where, and how and for how long they work.’ This takes child labour/children’s work beyond that of a discourse on capitalist economy and outside of the official labour market, towards all kinds of economic activities.

Children demanding the right to work, according to Liebel (2012), challenges the dominant legal conception that children’s rights are first and foremost the rights of adults to set a framework that fosters children’s best interests. Rather, children’s rights should be viewed within their own framework. For example, Dave, one of the former NNATs interviewees expressed his dissatisfaction and frustration at the situation of children and adolescents in Bolivia, prior to the new code: “I have so many rights but that they will not activate until I turn 18...It is ridiculous that you have so many rights and say, until you are not 18 years old, you are not a citizen” (I11). He was specifically talking about the right to work, but this is a good example of how, in many settings, children are viewed as adults in waiting. Their rights are granted to them, but do not mean much until they are 18. These rights are not ‘activated’ until the age of 18.

Members of NNATs, including those that I spoke to in the field, argue that eradicating child labour is a form of age- based discrimination. Their perspective is that their right to work should be viewed as a human right. This suggests that they view themselves as humans now, in the present, rather than human-becomings (or adults in the making as articulated in the childhood studies literature). NNATs view all children and adolescents as rights-bearing subjects and thus believe that issues that affect children and young people should be based on a rights-based participation model. During the interviews they

were quick to critique how children were not involved with the drafting of international standards (which is quickly becoming a common critique from children's rights researchers), and were very proud that they were involved with the Bolivian law.

Yet, these represented working children have been to many of the places where these international standards are decided, yet their participation was virtually non-existent and their invitation seen as a tokenistic gesture, with no real opportunity for participation (van Daalen and Mabillard, 2019). NNATs representatives were invited to summits in Geneva and Brussels in 2015 to discuss Law 548. Here, as indicated in my interview with Joe, the ILO questioned the legitimacy of the movement's claim to represent the interests of working children. However, for the IV Global Conference on Child Labour in Bolivia (as mentioned in Chapter One) no children under 18 were present despite persistent campaigns from NNATs and related NGOs to allow children to participate. One ILO representative was quoted as saying that allowing children to join would be like inviting meat eaters to discuss the advantages of eating meat at a vegetarian party (Bocking and Paz-Soldan, n.d). van Daalen and Mabillard (2019) link this to Hanson's (2016) work on children's agency and 'getting it wrong' – whereby children are listened to but their opinions are only considered if they are the 'right' decisions in line with those of adults, usually ones that 'protect' them.

What these conferences and summits show is that these spaces for discussion about conventions and standards have simultaneously included and excluded children. Children were invited to the places, but were not invited to talk. As Chapter One attested too, only working children who continue the victim narrative have been invited to global conferences on child labour. Faced with that, children felt they had to take to the streets, march, protest and then get gassed, in order to fight for the right to work. This is an example of a living rights claim and enacted citizenship in the face of exclusion. In addition, NNATs were heavily involved in an international conference on children and work, in October 2017, organised by Fundación La Paz and EuropaNATs (two NGOs supporting working children), which discussed public policies and programmes with working children and adolescents. The core messages from this conference, van Daalen and Mabillard reported, were that they have 'the right to work in dignity', they wish to be recognised and protected as workers, and school and work need not be mutually exclusive endeavours (2019, p.598).

Another way to illustrate children's and adolescents' articulation of their rights is through analysis of the draft law that they created in 2010. This was in part a response to the common frustration at the lack of rights, which Dave expressed, and is also an example of working children countering exclusion from policy making which affects their lives. The draft law of the NNATs includes the 'recognition, promotion, protection and defence' of the rights of working children and adolescents (UNATsBO, 2010, p.109). These are outlined as categories in the law, and are:

- Recognition: All children and adolescents are social and legal subjects. They have the right and the ability to participate actively in production and service provision in society. The State also recognizes and values the economic, social and cultural contribution provided by the work of children and adolescents, which in turn is intrinsically constituted as a constituent factor of identity, participation mechanism and as a context of socialization and internalization of values and norms.
- Promotion: It is the duty of the State, through the National Government, the Departmental and Municipal Governments, to promote the labor rights of working children and adolescents, through public policies that are aimed at the recognition and protection of these actors social. The social organizations and others of the civil society will contribute in the promotion of the rights of the working child or adolescent.
- Protection: Every child and adolescent has the right to protection at work, to comprehensive training and professional training, according to their vocation, aptitudes and skills in relation to labour demands. The State shall guarantee the protection of children and adolescents from all forms of exploitation and performance of any work that is dangerous or harms their education, is harmful to their health, their physical, mental or social development.
- Defence: The State, through the instances called by law, will denounce, prosecute and sanction the controversies arising from the violation of labour rights and the allegations of mistreatment and exploitation of working children and adolescents, demanding the restitution of the transgressed rights.

Source: UNATsBO (2010, p.109) (Translated and summarised by the author).

These elements of the law seem to be both inspired by and in contrast to previous laws and standards. Organised children want protection, but rather than protection from work, they want protection in work as well as from harmful work. They also want defence for any violations of said law. This is also in contrast to previous laws and standards as this has come from children, about and for children. A sharp contrast is in the recognition of children and the contribution that they make, which speaks volumes to children's agency.

Another key article of the draft law is the Article on Capacity of Organization, whereby 'Children, and adolescent workers have the right to organize and participate in other organizational forms (co-ordinators, federations, secretariats, etc.) to claim their rights. The State and social organizations will have the obligation to recognize the participation of these organizations in the national dynamics' (UNATsBO, 2010, p.112). This extract illustrates the importance that these children and adolescents place on participation, and to have their participation codified. This element was partly translated into the Law 548, in which children do have the right to participation. In addition, these articles and quotes demonstrate that children understand that rights do come from above and are codified. They just seek to change those codified rights to their agenda. In writing this draft law there is an acknowledgement from organised working children that rights come from above, that they are created, formulated and handed out by the state. In setting out the defence protections of children in the law, it is also an acknowledgement that it is the state's duty to protect these rights.

So, organised working children in Bolivia contested their rights as granted to them by the authorities of the ILO, and also by their own state. The campaign and subsequent claim for the right to work by working children, is an example of a living and localised understanding of rights. It takes into account the socio-cultural-economic context of work in Bolivia, given the number of working children, and the many reasons that children work.

4.4.2. Dignity, visibility and recognition

This claim and demand for the right to work needs further explanation. NNATs argue that working children want to work with dignity, working children want to be visible within society, and, working children want to be recognised and gain recognition for the work they do. This claim for the right to work, is linked to working children being seen

as visible, recognised and respected members of society. This is the focus of this next section.

The draft law written by UNATsBO suggests how children's work should be recognised for its value and the economic, social and cultural contribution it makes. It also goes on to say that the work of children represents a key part of their identity, and is important for acquiring values and standards, and thus that it should be recognised and valued. The state however, through Law 548, views children's dignity as something to be protected, and which could be at risk if children do certain types of work. Thus the law prohibits any work that may harm the dignity of children and adolescents (Art 126, 127 & 129), rather than protecting the work that allows children to work with dignity. Working children however, view work as something to give them dignity, with Fred, the former NNATs worker and current collaborator, expressing how "our idea was to dignify our work, that we see ourselves as people, that we are part of society, that we are not just a data" (I18).

Emily, the NGO worker who has worked on various aspects of children's lives, talked of how dignity extends further into adult work. She stated that, "We need to be looking at dignified work, minimum wage, social security, so there is no need for children to contribute to the economy" (I7). Thus for her, if adult work was dignified through better standards, then children would not have to work.

Associated with the need for dignity is the idea of visibility and recognition that the right to work would, and did, grant workers. At the EU summit in Brussels in 2017, Lourdes and Pablinho (NNATs representatives documented by van Daalen and Mabillard (2019)), praised the new Bolivian code for acknowledging working children and for making them more visible. They argued that the law, if well implemented, would help working children achieve a life with dignity 'work is a value in itself. [...] Work in dignity is work which guarantees our rights' (ibid, p.607).

Dave (I11) also added to this discussion "at the beginning we worked out of necessity but then actually the work fulfils us, helps us in our studies, allows us to perform as people, [and] I believe we have the right to exercise a decent job".

From these interconnected notions of dignity, visibility and recognition, we can see why children campaigned for the right to work and interpreted their campaign as vital to achieving these aspects of social life. Yet, while their participation may be valued, whose voices are represented by the NNATs is thrown into question. That is, that the views of represented working children may not reflect the views of other working children and indeed non-working children, which is the subject of Chapter Five.

4.4.3. Rights, protection and work: at/from

A third element of this discussion on the significance of rights for organised working children is the conflict and disagreement over the right for protection *at* work (which working children want) and the right for protection *from* work, that child labour norms suggest. Previous child labour laws have aimed to protect children from work.

However, with the extension of the right to work for certain children, Law 548 protects children at work. Article 126 of Law 548 states:

Children and adolescents have the right to be protected by the state at all levels, by their families and by society, especially against economic exploitation and the execution of any occupation or work that can hinder their education, present a danger, pose hazards to their health or be detrimental to their dignity and integral development.

Source: Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia (2014) (Translated by author).

Amy, a government employee at the Ministry of Justice, also supported this. Their role at the Ministry, she articulated, is to “Implement the current legislation to guarantee the rights of children, so [be] responsible for the area of mainstreaming rights of children, children and adolescents” (I20). Whilst we were talking about the significance of children’s right to work, she made the point that “If work is a human right how can you prohibit or limit the children and adolescents”. This picks up on the 1948 UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) which articulates everyone’s right to work, with no exception made for age. She went on to say that work “will be recognized as being formative that, which contributes to the integral development of the child, and that will be regulated in a special way.”

The argument around children working, as has been touched upon throughout this thesis, has previously been based on the idea that children should be protected from work. Again, this is based on the assumption that work is harmful, and without unpicking what work is and what work can do for children or what they get from it. Of course there is a fundamental issue with this in the way that this plays out practically in Bolivia, and that is to do with the actual implementation of the law and its enforcement. As Chapter One pointed out, the successful implementation of the law has been debated, given the lack of funding, capacity and availability of the ombudsmen service.

4.4.4. Conflict of rights

A final point of discussion on the significance of rights to organised working children, is a tension between children's right to work in Bolivia and their other rights (that is, codified and afforded to them). For example, the right to protection can conflict with the right to freedom and participation. We have also seen how debates around children working sit at that conflict over the right to protect children and their right to work. Tied up in this is also the right to education, and how it appears to be in conflict with the right to work. We now look further at these apparent conflicts.

The right to education is generally given priority by the majority of standards, laws and codes related to children. This is the prime argument given by those in the eradicationist/abolitionist camp of child labour. Even those who want protection and legalisation of children working, still acknowledge the importance of education and do not dismiss it entirely, and indeed several interviewees all agreed how in an ideal world, children and their childhood should be dedicated towards education. The conflict here, in Bolivia, isn't necessarily a case of either/or, but rather can both be protected? Do they complement each other or are they not, as the eradicationists feel, mutually compatible? We already know from the statistical data from Chapter 1 that children in school, do also work.

There is also the conflict of rights based around place and culture. The argument against the right to work conflicts with the values and obligations afforded to and expected of children in rural and indigenous communities, whereby work is expected as part of community. This type of work is protected by right. *Actividades comunitarias familiares*,

or community and family work is legal irrespective of the child's age. Article 128 of the code states:

I. This is the activity of girls, boys or adolescents developed together with their families in native indigenous communities of farming, Afro-American and inter-cultural origin. These activities are culturally valued and accepted, and have the purpose of the development of fundamental skills needed for their own lives, and to strengthen community life in the context of Living Well (*Vivir Bien*); based on traditional and ancestral knowledge that include sowing, harvesting, and the conservation of natural resources such as forests, water and animals. They always contain elements of leisure and recreation as well as artistic and religious elements.

II. These types of activities are developed according to their own norms and procedures, within the framework of the original indigenous peasant jurisdiction, when they do not constitute labour exploitation or threaten or violate the rights of children and adolescents.

Source: Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia (2014) (Translated by author).

However, this is somewhat ambiguous if it is left up to the community to decide which work is allowed, at any age, for the benefit of the community and which is detrimental to children. Despite being in the children and adolescents code, the question arises over whether this is a right that is beneficial for children, or their communities.

The process that shaped Law 548 highlights that children's own understandings of their human rights may differ from international ones, and that these understandings can play an important role in law and policymaking. Van Daalen and Mabillard (2019) add that instead of merely focusing on the implementation of international standards, the Bolivian Government eventually allowed for the negotiations of different rights claims, based not only on existing laws and conventions but also on working children's own realities, lived experiences and daily struggles.

The right to vote is a common way of exercising legal rights and example of direct participation and a broader aspect of citizenship. The ability to do so at 18 is commonly associated with their change in status of children to adults, and thus 'sudden' ability to

exercise the capability and capacity to make political decisions. In Bolivia, this conflict of rights can also be explored by the right to work at the age of 10 in certain circumstances, yet the ability to vote is not granted until age 18 in Bolivia. Yet, children are also able to participate in different capacities. They are guaranteed, through Law 548 ‘that they will be listened to and respected in all areas of life and that they may express their opinion on all matters that concern them’ as well as ‘the right of free speech, participation and petition (without the intermediary of an adult)’ (Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia, 2014, p.49). This guarantee and right, in practicality, are evidenced in Children’s and Adolescents’ Committees (*Comités de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes*), which are made up of children and adolescents from schools and other organisations and are tasked with devising child policy programmes and measures, and to monitor their implementation. As to how these function, it is unclear, and like *Las Defensorías* which have a lack of funding, presence and staffing, they could face challenges.

To a certain extent, then, there is a conflict of rights in regards to children’s right to work in Bolivia. This conflict is over the priority of rights bound up in what is best for children, and how best to protect them. It is also a conflict as to how should children’s agency be trusted – their decision making, their own understandings and priorities – and granted through forms of participation.

4.5. Chapter Discussion: Work, Rights, Citizenship and Childhood

Thus far, this chapter has examined the most significant actors in the child labour debates in Bolivia, unpacked these debates, and explored the significance of rights to organised working children in order to further understand their position within the child labour debates. This chapter now discusses these unpacked debates, and the rights discourse from organised working children, in relation to the literature and theory that this research is grounded in: the conceptual framework based on childhood studies, children’s citizenship and children’s rights. Looking through the framework inspired by childhood studies, citizenship and rights, allows us to examine and discuss these debates from a different perspective and more through the lens of childhood studies. This has been tentatively discussed in the chapter, but in no great detail. Following this section is the chapter summary and conclusion.

4.5.1. Rights, citizenship and organised working children

The idea of living rights helps us to understand the significance of rights for organised working children. This, as previously mentioned, suggests that children ‘interpret and give meaning to their rights, based on lived experiences, socio-economic realities, various social relationships, and ideas of right and wrong’ (cited in Hanson and Nieuwenhuys, 2012, p.10). We can see here that organised working children have made sense and understood their rights, giving priority to the right to work, based on their own individual, familial and the national context in Bolivia. Fundamental to this is the social relationships that these organised working children have, through the organisation of the NNATs, whereby they can share their experiences and gain a sense of belonging as well as gain professional support from the other organisations which work with NNATs. At the same time, working children in Bolivia also contested their rights. They contested the rights as granted to them by the authorities of the ILO, and also by their own state. This is an integral part of the notion of living rights – challenging rights as only those that are codified. Thus, organised working children transcend the traditional idea that rights are merely those that are enshrined in law: rights from above. However, there is also an acceptance on the part of organised working children of rights from above and codified rights, as they codified their own rights in a draft law, mirroring common texts and invoking human rights language. The campaign and subsequent claim for the right to work by working children, is an example of a living and localised rights understanding, as well as a claim for rights from below.

Furthermore, we can apply the idea of enacted citizenship to understand the significance of rights, and the working children’s movement. Organised working children have practiced their citizenship outside of formal participatory processes: writing their own law, marching on the streets – and even just working when laws and standards said they shouldn’t and couldn’t. Children view their work as something valuable and dignified in the present, not only in the future. These children have engaged in actions of citizenship, including making rules of social existence and exercising freedoms, such as speaking out and campaigning, to achieve their own rights. These children, similar to their challenge on codified rights, also challenge their citizenship based on status. Their claims, practice of working and mobilisation are exemplars of enacting their own citizenship.

In addition, this discussion does not intend simply to highlight just a case of children having rights, or children even having the right to work, or indeed, provide a soft critique of the UNCRC. In light of the critique by Reynaert et al (2009), it shows a complex web of rights, of which children have a nuanced understanding and relationship with. In terms of rights, this research shows that, despite the oft cited ‘landmark’ treaty of the UNCRC, that children contest and seek to claim different rights, in this instance the right to work. The ‘universality’ of the convention is also thrown into question, given the way that children and other Bolivian actors have questioned the ILO in saying that the context of Bolivia, where children commonly work, must be taken into consideration.

4.5.2. Childhood norms and ideals

Through these debates over child labour in Bolivia, there is evidence of differing views on childhood, manifest in a conflict over ideals and norms of childhood. For example, the ideal vision of a protected childhood encouraged by international standards (towards work and more broadly) does not include a childhood spent actively campaigning for the right to work, formulating a law or involved in violent clashes with national police in the streets, during the aforementioned protests in December 2013. In some ways, this childhood experience has more in common with adulthood, and can be considered somewhat deviant from the expectations and experiences of a ‘normal’ childhood in an international context.⁵⁶ This childhood experience has also bestowed upon children both positive and negative aspects to work; children now have the right to work and participate in political processes, but they had to fight for it and suffered violence.

It was highlighted during various interviews with members of working children’s unions and the Ministry of Labour that Law 548 refers to working children and not child labour. Liebel (2015) also points out that the law refers to protection at work as opposed to protection from work, which has previously been the norm in standards on child labour. In doing so, it also supports the agency of children and recognises them as social actors, by not defining them as something to be protected in the context of work, but rather accepting and respecting their decision to work.

⁵⁶ One could add that the ongoing (at the time of writing, November 2019) climate change protests by children are another example of this.

Law 548 then, at once complements and rejects current international standards with respect to norms around childhood. These are arguably standards of a middle class and minority world childhood whereby childhood is seen as a time to be dedicated to education, play and leisure, not work. The new code supports and rejects this; education should be of a primary concern, but work is acceptable too. By proposing that participating in work as well as formal schooling is part of childhood development, the code crosses the normal/other binary on childhood, which have previously suggested that work and education are not considered compatible within childhood. By giving them the right to work, and recognising the value and importance of children's work, the code strikes a new position amongst historic and contemporary global child labour policies. In so doing, the code demonstrates a perceived value not only to children's work, but also to the children who work, and therefore bestows upon child workers not only responsibility, but also legal rights and protection.

4.5.3. Agency and participation

A fundamental element of childhood studies has been focussed upon children being entitled to express their views, influence and also make decisions that relate to them. What the debates in this chapter show us, is that children are challenging what their best interests are. It is a challenge against the Western, or Northern childhood hegemonic discourse that children, fundamentally, should not work, which is linked to the perception of child labour as a negative. In addition, this research shows that children's participation is not tokenistic, in their view, and that now they have the right to work they feel valued, and their work feels valued.

The last point is important because the involvement of children in drafting the law could easily be criticised, as has previous child participation, as tokenistic (Holscheiter, 2016). Working children's organisations, both worldwide and in the Bolivian case are representative of only a small minority of working children, and thus an even smaller minority of children in general. Invernizzi and Milne (2002) believe that the majority of such movements tend to be an amplification of the adults behind them and their participation is considered as manipulation or, in many instances, tokenism. However, with this case it is not so. Tony and other NNATs members stated how serious dialogue (between NNATs and the Government) was seriously taken into account for the first time. In other words, this dialogue and working together between the NNATs and Government

in creating the law, was considered seriously (at least by the side of the NNATs), and not just tokenistic as some children's participation has been. As Chapter Two noted, discussions on children's participation rights have become a norm in children's rights practice and policy, but the value of such participation has often been questioned as insincere and unrepresentative (Reynaert et al, 2009). In this example, it is the opposite.

The prior discussion on rights also shows that children do express, and are capable of expressing, their agency. This is a fundamental element of childhood studies. What this research adds to the field, is that by understanding their rights, claiming rights, taking on and demonstrating responsibility, the children in this study express a particular form of agency, namely political agency.

Also relevant is the idea of a paradox of agency, stemming from Hanson's work (2016). Agency is afforded to children only if they can make the 'right' decision. At the international scale, the ILO and Unicef do not feel that working children should be afforded opportunity to speak at international conferences on matters concerning them, including having any say in international laws and standards. At the national level, children have had some political representation and involvement in committees (*Comités de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes*), as well as in creating Law 548, but cannot vote. Organised working children directly challenged this by writing their own law, believing what they had to say was worthy and valid.

4.5. Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined and explored the actors involved in the child labour debates in Bolivia, their relationships, and their positions both on and within the debates, in order to expand and open up the debates over whether children should work or not. There has been a focus around the role and actions of the Bolivian NNATs in this chapter, the significance of rights to them, as well as an acknowledgement and examination of the other institutional and prominent actors involved: the ILO, the Bolivian Government. The chapter has also analysed these debates, the actors involved and their claims, in relation to the conceptual framework that grounds this research.

In doing so, this chapter has argued that, firstly, the debates over child labour in Bolivia are complex and multifaceted. The positions of the actors discussed in this chapter have

their views grounded in certain understandings about work, and also what a childhood should entail. Whilst there are fundamental disagreements between NNATs, the Bolivian Government and the ILO, notably over whether child labour should be outright banned in order to protect children, or work should be legalised and children allowed to work, there is also agreement over protecting children from mistreatment from all parties.

Secondly, organised working children, in articulating their work through rights, and campaigning for the right to work show that there is a complex web of rights which children have a nuanced understanding and relationship of and with. This plays out as a conflict of rights and as rights claims for dignity, respect and recognition through work. Their campaign and subsequent claim for the right to work is both an example of a localised and living rights understanding and enacted citizenship.

In terms of the research questions, we can see how the data presented and discussed in this chapter addresses the questions in part. We can see what the debates are and why there are debates over child labour in Bolivia. There is fundamental disagreement stemming from the NNATs campaign for the right to work, the implementation of Law 548, and the ILO's subsequent condemning of this law – all due to fundamental disagreement over children's best interests (and listening to their best interests) in relation to work. We also see in part what children and young people's views are on work in this context, and why they hold these views. Organised working children value their work, and believe that it should be recognised in codified law. Looking at the significance of rights, allows us to unpack these views. Lastly, we have also seen what childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights can tell us about these perspectives and debates. That is, that normative understandings about what childhoods should be like manifest themselves in these debates and working children challenge dominant understandings of citizenship as status.

This chapter has dealt with the main actors in the debates – the most vocal – but what about non-organised children in Bolivia, whether they are working or not, and what do they think? This is the purpose of the next chapter, to bring in the voices of those non-organised children who have not previously been given a voice. Their voices are used to further unpack children and adolescent's perspectives on work, and how they inform child labour debates.

Chapter Five. Non-Organised Children's Understandings of Work: Family, Education and Responsibility

5.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter, in contrast to the previous one, brings in the voices of non-organised children in Bolivia – both working and non-working. The chapter focuses on what work children do, how it is understood and articulated by them, what it means for children and adolescents in Bolivia, and how this informs child labour debates. As the previous chapter concentrated heavily on institutional actors, specifically represented working children – those with a prominent voice in the debates – this chapter brings in the perspectives of those unrepresented children whose voices have not been heard. However, it does also refer to both the NNATs and other interview participants in parts in order to support some of the narrative.

As the previous chapter did, this chapter also uses the primary and secondary data collected and analysed during fieldwork in Bolivia. The chapter draws heavily on the sentence completion task data, and also on a select number of interviews. References will also be made to *Mi Fortaleza*, and specifically the narrative and examples mentioned of the types of work done by children and adolescents in Bolivia. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with non-organised working children and those that were researched in the two schools through the sentence completion task, reference is made to children in NNATs, by way of contrast and comparison.

Using the data presented and analysed, the chapter argues, firstly, that children understand and articulate their own work, and the work of other children in many different ways. Commonly, they often do it in relation to the family, and in relation to their education. These intersections provide an insightful way to view the work that children do, and thus their perspectives in the child labour debates. Secondly, non-organised working children (and non-working children) have a variety of different thoughts and opinions, arguing multiple reasons for child labour to be legal or not. Some of these reasons can be mapped against those claims given by the organised actors in the previous chapter. Thirdly, through the concept of responsibility, we can see how non-organised children understand the work that they, and others do. Children understand and can conceptualise their own responsibilities, and view work as a way to exercise such responsibility. Finally, bringing the voices of these children into the debates is important not only to let children have a

say and be heard, but also as they provide interesting perspectives which both challenge and support current understandings, which this chapter presents.

The chapter is structured as follows. The first section presents and analyses the data on the sentence completion task participants, examining the relations between their age, who works and what type of work that they do. The second part, section 5.3. analyses their understandings and thoughts on child labour, notably whether it should be illegal or not. Section 5.4. then discusses several intersections of children's work, in relation to family, education and notions of responsibility. Finally, there is a discussion in relation to the conceptual framework based around citizenship, childhood norms and responsibility.⁵⁷

5.2. Understanding the Participants and their Work

This section examines the participants and the work they do. It builds upon the data presented of the participants of the sentence completion questionnaire, first outlined in Chapter Three, analysing the answers from the task. In this chapter, attention is turned to those children's voices that have not been heard in either academic or policy debates. These are unrepresented children, both working and non-working. They could also be framed as 'ordinary' children, given the somewhat unique position of working children's movements in Latin America which have gained so much attention in recent decades.

5.2.1. How do the children identify? Children, youth and adolescence

Before we look at different types, understandings and reasons for work, this chapter first looks at definitions and meanings associated with 'child' and 'adolescents' and other related term. This has consequences for meanings around different types of work that children do. Chapter Two dealt with theoretical differences, by looking at the social construction of childhood, and how childhood can be constructed in different ways. That chapter showed that constructions of childhood differ depending on contexts and intersections, and also that children make sense of and understand their own childhoods. There are also differing definitions across cultures and international agreements as to what age a child is. Bolivia, through its latest constitution and children's code, states that a child is under 12, and adolescent from 12 until their 18th birthday, and an adult as 18

⁵⁷ Some of this data and discussion in the chapter was also used in my own publication (Willman, 2019). Specifically, this is the data presented on children mentioning various responsibilities and some of the discussion in section 5.4.

and over. However, these, along with the UNCRC of children as being under 18, are institutional definitions, set without input from children themselves. This chapter looks at how children themselves define or identify. This allows us to understand the context of their childhood.

George, a researcher in the field of child labour, justified the exploration into different concepts: “Another element that is important is that we understand to be a child, or adolescent, I think there is a lot of difference in the western conception from being a child to the conception that you have in the Andean world” (I10). Just as how work was understood differently with worldviews (as explained in the previous chapter), so too are children.

In Bolivia, the terms *joven*, along with *niño*, *niña* and *adolescente* (boy, girl and adolescent) are also relevant to this discussion, alongside those in codified laws. *Joven* as a noun (it can also be an adjective) can mean young person or youth. *Jovenes* is its plural form. *Joven* is a difficult term to pin a specific age on. For example, when in Bolivia, many people old enough to be my parents or grandparents would refer to myself as ‘*Joven*’, but I could have referred to the school goers as *jovenes* too. This is supported by the quote from Emily below. Emily, an interviewee with an NGO, explained that “(In Bolivia) you can still be considered a young person in your 30s... often factors of living with parents, even if you have your own kids (affect this)... but it depends on your status in the community, if you have not taken on roles of responsibility. So, your maturity is not always connected with age” (I7). Thus categorisations and terms of life stage are often associated to responsibility, capability and maturity. Joe, from the ILO, also attested to different categorisations, saying “The minimum age (of work) in some countries is 14, it is 16. But then in some countries youth is until the age of 22, 24, 38. So when you try to categorise people, in age groups, there will always be controversy. There will always be problems” (I21).

The young participants of this study were asked to self-identify at the beginning of the sentence completion task. They were asked to indicate what they considered themselves to be. The data can in part help to address these conceptual problems. Four options were given to the students. They could select one, or multiple identities if they wanted to. The results are given in Table 9 below:

Options given:									
Niño/a (Boy/girl/child)		Joven (Young person)		Adolescente (Adolescent)		Adulto/a (Adult)			
Combinations chosen:									
		Nin@ ₅₈	Nin@ & Joven	Joven	Joven & Adolescente	Nin@ & Adolescente	Adolescente	None chosen	N=
Age	12	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
	13	4	0	21	1	1	32	5	64
	14	0	0	21	2	1	12	2	38
	15	0	0	18	2	0	12	0	32
	16	0	0	9	1	0	7	2	19
	17	0	0	5	2	0	8	0	15
	18	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total:		4	1	76	8	2	72	10*	174
Male		2	1	55	5	1	45	7	123
Female		2	0	21	3	1	27	2	48

*1 participant who didn't choose a category also didn't specify their age or gender.

Table 10. Table showing participant self-identification by age and gender.

⁵⁸ The @ signifies the different gender for the noun which can be _a for feminine and _o for masculine.

Table 10, above, shows how the participants self-identified. The table shows that very few of the participants referred to themselves as children: only 4 of the 174. Adult was not a category chosen at all, even amongst those participants aged 17 and 18, whereby according to the Bolivian state and the UNCRC they are close to and classed as an adult (at 18). Perhaps this is because they were still in school, a more child-oriented setting.

The results also show that for some, 11 of the 174, one label was not enough and they elected to choose two, either combining *nin@* with *joven* or *adolescente*, or, most commonly, combining *joven* and *adolescente*. None of the 174 participants chose more than two categories, even though they could have. This shows that for only a few of the participants, less than 10%, one label was insufficient for them to describe themselves. However for the majority, they felt that a single category was enough. 11 participants did not choose any of the options.

This data allows for the interpretation of several points. First of all, that some children identify themselves in line with the legal, institutional definitions of themselves, evident in those above the age of 12 identifying as adolescent. This mirrors the Bolivian institutional definition which defines 12 and over's as adolescents, as opposed to the more international institutional definition from the UNCRC which defines children as under 18. However, they also identify themselves as something different, notably as *jovenes*, opting for something more colloquial. While these interpretations may not seem significant in themselves, at least part of the significance lies in actually asking children and allowing them to give their answers.

Secondly, this more specific age distinction, between children, adolescents and *jovenes*, can help diminish any connotations afforded to the notion of children working especially when using a blanket term of children as under 18. Work would likely be considered more acceptable for an adolescent or a young person at 12, than if a 12 year old is considered a child. Indeed, it is legal as such under certain conditions (see Figure 1). Although the age of the person working does not differ, the label attached to it can change perceptions. While the idea of a childhood consisting of work can sit uneasily with one approach to childhood, the idea of working during an adolescence, or youth, is harder to disagree with, across any approach to childhood; 'normal' or 'other', in the Global North or Global South. Furthermore, it supports the agency of children better by allowing them to self-identify, which the UNCRC calls for in consultation of children on their views where

necessary. Furthermore, this supports one of the central arguments of this thesis that child labour is not a particularly useful concept to explain and understand the work that children do in Bolivia. If we used adolescent labour or youth labour instead, perhaps these are better ways to label it. Of course, this then raises the question around the term ‘labour’ which is addressed in part by the next section.

5.2.2. What work do these children do and why?

The next section will continue to explore the data from the questionnaires, looking at the numbers that work, and breaking them down by age, gender, and types of work. Reasons for working will then be examined. This section concentrates more on the participants that actually worked, to understand why, rather than the responses of the students as a whole. The responses from those who did not work however will be drawn upon later in the chapter. Tables 11 and 12 show the breakdown by school, gender and age of those who worked (as a percentage).⁵⁹

<i>Combined Schools</i>	Work	Combined Gender	Male	Female
	Yes	30%	32%	23%
	No	70%	68%	77%
<i>Public School ‘SB’</i>	Yes	42%	45%*	41%*
	No	58%	55%	59%
<i>Private School ‘CS’</i>	Yes	8%	11%	4%
	No	92%	89%	96%

* Two workers from this school did not state gender, so one has been added to each Male and Female.

Table 11. Table showing statistics on children who worked from the sentence completion questionnaire, based on school and gender

⁵⁹ The actual numbers, and not percentages, can be seen in Table 6.

<i>Percentage of those who worked:</i>			
<i>Age</i>	<i>Combined Gender</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>12</i>	0%	0%	0%
<i>13</i>	16%	18%	12%
<i>14</i>	26%	28%	22%
<i>15</i>	44%	42%	38%
<i>16</i>	74%	69%	100%
<i>17</i>	20%	23%	0%
<i>18</i>	0%	0%	0%

Table 12. Table showing statistics on children who worked from the sentence completion questionnaire, based on age.⁶⁰

From this sample the total number of children that said they worked was 52 out of 174 surveyed, 30%. For the boys sampled, 32% of them worked; it was lower for girls as 23% of them worked. Between the public school and private school it is clear that more children and adolescents from the public school worked, again following the same gender ratios. 42% of the public school students worked, whereas only 8% of the private school children worked. However, those from the private school surveyed were only aged between 12 and 14 years old, where as in the public school the oldest student was 18. From the private school, all of the workers were aged 13 (none aged 12 and 14), four were male and one was female.

Age-wise, the higher percentage of children who worked fell amongst the 16 year olds, whereby 74% of them worked, which includes all three of the girls who were surveyed. Interestingly, only 20% of the 17 year olds worked where as 44% and 26% of 15 and 14 year olds respectively worked. One might expect this figure to increase as students get older. However the data will be slightly skewed, as those participating from the private school were within a narrower age band of 12-14, and overall fewer of them worked.

Although a small sample, we can see that, by proportion, more boys than girls worked. Although not a drastic difference, one reason for this could be, as supported by one of the

⁶⁰ This is a combined total for the public and private school as only 12, 13 and 14 year olds were surveyed for the private school 'CS'.

reports mentioned in Chapter One (2014b) is that work undertaken by girls (especially domestic work) is less visible, and that they might not consider it as work. With regards to age, there are less clear patterns. Overall however, we can see that from these school children, all ages work and both boys and girls work.

We can also see that it was more common from the public school (CS) students to work. This is not surprising, especially after conversations with the gatekeepers for each school, whereby I was told the class background for the students. In SC, Mary told me that these students were from more working class backgrounds, therefore the families were likely to be less well off, and probably in need of economic support from their children. Conversely, in CS, the pupils were from more middle class backgrounds and thus less like to work. Quotes from Emily in section 5.4.2. of this chapter will help to elaborate on this.

A categorisation and coding scheme was devised to help understand the work that the participants did. Whilst this was partly inspired by the categorisations of the 2008 survey into child labour in Bolivia, overall it was found that these categories did not necessarily apply or help to understand the data. The 2008 (p.83) survey listed different options under the following headings:⁶¹

- Occupational Group
- Industry/Sector
- Employment Situation
- Type of Employer

However the 2008 survey dealt with significantly more data and was based on more questions to elicit data. For this data then, I have looked at employment sector as well as employment situation (a combination of employment situation and type of employer - to see whether people worked as self-employed, for a third party or family) in order to analyse the data and provide my interpretation. These categorisations were based on the responses to question ‘1. I work as... /My work involves...’ on the questionnaire.

	Combined	Public ‘SB’	Private ‘CS’
Manual/labour/manufacturing	10	10	0

⁶¹ These headings were also used to present the data in Chapter One (Figures 7 and 8).

Service (waiter, waitressing and food)	18	17	1
Domestic	5	5	0
Selling/vending	11	10	1
Agriculture	2	2	0
Office/administration	2	1	1
Other/unclear	12	11	1

Table 13. Table showing activity type and industry of participants who worked.

	Combined	Public 'SB'	Private 'CS'
Family	8	8	0
Own/self employed	3	3	0
Business	23	20	3
Unclear	18	16	2

Table 14. Table showing employment status of participants who worked.

Manual/labour/manufacturing work included works such as 'cutting glass' (Andy, SB1, aged 15), 'loading boxes' (Brandon, SB11, aged 14) and bricklaying (Giancarlo, SB39, aged 15). Service work covered different types of waiting/waitressing and food preparation work and was the most common sector. Domestic workers referred to either their home, helping family members, as well as making references to the specific tasks that they did, such as washing, cleaning and cooking. Some of the children and adolescents worked as vendors, for example Sergio (CS18, aged 13), Quisbert (SB19, aged 14) and Daniela (SB43, aged 15) who worked in 'an Adidas shop helping clients', 'selling backpacks' and 'selling and trading in Mamaco on El Prado' respectively. This was the only response where they mentioned the business, company or organisations name specifically. The 'other' category includes Josue (SB47, aged 15) who operates a radio (he did not elaborate where) and Cristian (CS28, aged 13) who conducts a radio programme. Some of the 'other' jobs also included people helping their parents and did not specify as to what. Another, Ivan (SB100, aged 14), in the other category said he worked as a student, which is interesting and will be elaborated on later.

Unsurprisingly only two participants worked in agriculture, as this was primarily an urban study given the location of the two schools. The teacher and gatekeeper through whom I gained access to school SC, Mary (C1), however did allude to the fact that some students

do travel in from rural areas, either on a weekly or daily basis to attend school, and stay with family. This was less likely happen at school CS. Brian (SB98, aged 15) stated that he cared for bulls and his tasks included feeding them. This was family work. The other stated a tree feller (Juan, 14, SB25). Unfortunately, he did not elaborate as to where or what their specific role or tasks were.

Two participants stated they had two jobs. Marco (SB56) stated he was a builder's helper and also helped his grandad who was a carpenter. Mick (SB40) stated he was a waiter and a clown (children's entertainer) in a hospital.

Some of the employment sector and situation categories were not mutually exclusive, and some work that the students did fell into more than one category. One example is Christian (SB71, aged 17), who makes and sells *Tucumanas*, which is both vending and selling, but also being involved in service work which included a lot of food preparation and waiting. Domestic work could also be considered manual labour, as in some cases it is intensive, physical work. Roberto (SB22) stated they worked as a carwasher, which I had initially classified as a service, however they also stated in their response that they found the work 'effort' and that they considered it painful sometimes, so I also classed this as manual and labour.

The majority of participants, it seemed, worked for other people or businesses (i.e a third party), most commonly in shops and restaurants. People also worked with family, most commonly helping parents at home such as Micaela (SB85, aged 16) and Mamani (SB97, aged 16) who specifically stated that they helped their mothers. Three participants stated that they worked for themselves. Leonardo (SB54) who was 13 said that he sold phones in two of his own shops and was his own boss. Although this seems young and could be an exaggeration, it is possible that he could have set up his own small market stall on the street, or worked out of a phone shop that a relative may have owned and bought and sold his own stock. Raquel, (SB42, aged 16), worked for herself as a nanny and Cristian (SB55, aged 14) sold speakers and music alongside his friends. This, like Leonardo would have more than likely been a market stall on the street. In much of the work it was unclear whether people worked with family, someone else or on their own. There was a mix of people working for family, as self-employed or a third-party business across all of the different industries, with no clear pattern.

The difference between the public and private schools is that there were no private school participants who worked in manual/labour/manufacturing or domestic work. Those who worked in the private school most commonly did so in other businesses. This could be due to the fact that these children were more likely to keep the money for themselves as pocket money, and were more likely to seek work outside of a family setting (otherwise, if it were in a family business, the money might stay within it to support the family). Another reason could be that their parents were more likely to work for bigger organisations (and thus have the salary to be able to pay for private school), and not have smaller family enterprises, such as restaurants or shops. Two were unclear, including Cristian (CS28, aged 13) who had a radio show. The other participant had illegible writing but had ticked that they worked.

This section shows that children understand and articulate their work in different ways, more than likely based on their lived experiences. The questions were designed to be open in order to elicit responses that would not particularly focus on employment sector, or employer. Rather, these categorisations came from the data, and thus children themselves. Some concentrated on specific tasks that their work entailed, some concentrated on the sector of their employment, and some concentrated on who their work was with; whether it be for themselves or for their family. For example, those that were self-employed volunteered that information, potentially out of pride. It could be that many more people worked with or for their families, but just didn't write down that information. The data also shows that the types of work were quite varied, from jobs that children globally will do, such as washing cars, working in restaurants or helping out family members, to perhaps more obscure jobs, such as working on the radio or as a clown, to very context specific jobs, such as making and selling empanadas. The importance is not just what work they said they did, but how they articulated this, concentrating on tasks, roles and employers. This suggests that perhaps different aspects of work, such as working with family members, holds more significance to that individual, than say the actual task that they have to perform. The opposite could also be true for another individual, because of the experience or skill that they gain from doing that actual task.

5.2.3. Justification for work, likes and dislikes

The participants that had stated they worked were asked to complete the sentence, “2. I work because...”, “3. I like work because...” and “4. I dislike work because...”. The

reasons from the participants were very mixed and coded and grouped as shown in the table below. As with some of the previous data, participants often expressed more than one reason, or their answers aligned into more than one category. Some of their answers to questions 2 and 3 were very similar, for example for Juan (SB25, aged 14) who said they worked to help their family and liked work because they liked to contribute to buying bread (this could have been metaphorically or literally). Likewise Giancarlo (SB39, aged 15) mentioned earning his money in response to questions 2 and 3. However, Raquel (SB42, aged 16) said she worked because her household needed more money, but liked work because of the job she did (which was caring for children).

	Combined	Public 'SB'	Private 'CS'
Family (helping them economically, support)	35	34	1
Education (paying for own books, travel)	3	2	1
Own money	16	13	3
Enjoyment	8	7	1
Pass time	2	1	1
To learn/future	5	4	1

Table 15. Justification for working given by the participants.

Just as family was evident in the types of jobs that the participants did, it was even more evident in the reasons. There were 35 references of helping family; to support them, help pay bills or financial mentions. The next biggest mention was to work for their own money, with added mentions to buy their own things and to be self-reliant. Eight mentioned working because they enjoyed it along with 2 mentioned of working just to pass time. Working for learning and for the future was grouped together; one mentioned working to gain experience, another for a better future. The most common response for private school pupils was to keep their own money, whereas for the public school pupils this was to support their family. This corresponds with the socio-economic background of the pupils from the two schools, as was explained earlier in this chapter and also in Chapter Three, as the families of the private school students are likely to be financially better off.

The reasons given for working were not mutually exclusive and were often grouped in various categories. For example, Maite (SB29, aged 14) who worked for their own money and to help family stated “because sometimes I want to buy my own things, and also to help at home economically”, Ivan (SB100, aged 14) who worked stated “because I like to and because I would like a better future” and Nia (SB41, aged 15), who worked as a nanny and worked, said “because I like children and I work to buy my own clothes etc”. Both public and private school participants expressed reasons across all categories. However in the private school, the most mentions were for students earning their own money. This is unsurprising as they are likely from wealthier families who will have less need for the children to contribute to household income, which was a narrative supported by conversations with Tam (C2), the gatekeeper to the school. There are arguable parallels here with children working in the minority world, which are commonly seen as children working a Saturday job, or paper round, in order to earn extra pocket money.

The reasons that children gave for questions 3 and 4 of the sentence completion task in relation to what they liked and did not like about work were also varied. Being tired was mentioned 6 times in response to not liking work. For example, Maria, 13 (CS41) who cleaned in a hairdressing salon and helped in her parents shop, said that “work is very tiring and it costs a lot to make money” suggesting that the economic compensation was not enough for her cost in energy. Two responses were linked to affecting their education. Some students also said that there was nothing that they did not like. On the other hand, the main reason given for liking work was related to money, with a total of 13 responses. Three responses were related to work allowing for the passage of time and stopping boredom. Some responses alluded to the actual job itself, such as Nia and Raquel, 15 and 15 respectively (SB41 and SB42) who were both nannies, said they enjoyed looking after children.

From this data we can conclude several points. It is clear that family is a key theme that has stood out from this data, as has already been noted in this thesis, and were evident in the responses to the other questions, which is why it will be discussed in much more detail towards the end of the chapter (and also discussed along with other themes, such as education, which comes from the data with non-working children). Looking at what was not said by the pupils, it is clear that none of them were involved in any of the worst forms of child labour from which both the ILO and the Bolivian government through Law 548 want to protect children from. Nobody worked in a mine, in the sugar plantations, any

type of sexually exploitative work or form of slavery or debt bondage – however it is accepted that by conducting the research in La Paz, I was thus unlikely to come across any children who did. However, that is not to say they did not or had not, as they might not reveal it on paper, or be worried. But it is unlikely from this small sample, although interestingly, one participant did state that they worked in a shop at night selling alcohol (Kevin, 17, SB80) – which according to Law 548 is prohibited for children and adolescents (thus, 17 year olds).

The types of work that children and adolescents do has thus far been explored through the data collected from the participants of the sentence completion questionnaire. So too was it explored by interviewees from the research who often offered certain typologies. Notably Fred, Rupert and Brian discussed this. These interviews yielded different typologies of child workers in Bolivia, which support and explain the data from the two schools.

Fred, a former child worker and current NNATS collaborator, says there are three types of children and adolescent workers: the child who loves to work, the child who does not like to work, and the child who does not like to work but has to. This insight is supported by the sentence completion task data where participants were asked why they did or did not like work. Although the questionnaire participants could not be easily placed in these categories, as some expressed responses that fit all three, it shows the broad reasons that children do have to work.

Rupert, a researcher and ex NATs collaborator too categorised three types of worker in Bolivia (or rather one type of worker and two reasons for working). Firstly, is the worst forms of child labour, examples including mining and tough rural work. Second is work to help with subsistence and livelihood (commonly rural within family and community, but can also be urban working within family businesses or as a separate job). Lastly is work whereby workers keep the money themselves, whether that be self-employed, for a third party or employed by their parents, in order to keep up with trends or pay for their own education. These partly support many of the responses of the children in the sentence completion task, with the exception of the forms of child labour.

Organised working children in Mi Fortaleza also list many different examples of children that work, all of which were different, and state how it is important to define and understand meanings of children's work:

The work carried out by Julián, aged 12, in the community of Santiago Machaca, herding his cattle, is not the same as Lucila, 9 years old, in the city of Potosí, helping to wash the mineral that she gathers in the Cerro Rico de Potosí. The work done by Marianela is not the same, 14 years old in the province of Tarabuco, peeling potatoes in a market. Or that of Justo, 11 years old, who washes cars in a central avenue of Cochabamba, or that of Cyril, who goes to the farm with his father when he has no classes, or the one of Micaela, 7, who sells flowers until late at night in bars and restaurants in downtown La Paz; as many forms of work as children can exist in our country and none has the same characteristics as the other, but yes, for children who are not recognized by the State, their work has relevance for the personal, family and community settings in which they live and work: helping their family, being important in their community, earning the money to contribute at home, supporting their mother or father, surviving in the absence of other options in life ... in a nutshell.

Source; UNATsBO (2010, p. 28) (Translated by author).

Following that, the document then asks the question “So how can we define the work of children?” (UNATsBO, 2010, p.30). The authors believe that categorisations or divisions of work are not useful because they do not take into account feelings, opinions and demands of working children and adolescents, as well as the specific context. They say children should be recognised as human beings and part of their community and not statistics, because statistics do not show the full story. The data collected from the children and adolescents in this study in part support this. It has allowed the children to express some of their feelings and opinions in relation to work, and offer a different perspective to quantitative statistics from a survey. It also starts to show the lived experience of work amongst children who are still in school.

5.3. Work, Child Labour Debates and Non-Organised Children

The chapter will now move on to differing definitions of work, and examine how children understand them. This section uses the sentence completion questionnaire responses, but also draws upon the interviews and excerpts from *Mi Fortaleza*. The difference between work and labour may be subtle, or it may mean different things to different people or in different cultural contexts. When we then talk about child work or child labour, it can then suggest different things about acceptability or unacceptability of such work or labour, which has already been touched upon in this thesis. The ILO uses terms such as hazardous work, child labour, permissible employment, light work, and other activities (referring back to table x in chapter one). The Bolivian state through Law 548 also defines different types of work. What is unclear however, is whether children themselves understand work in this way, or relate their own work to these differing definitions and understandings.

Furthermore, it is also important to discuss the semantic and linguistic differences across Spanish and English. Child labour translated into Spanish is commonly referred to as *trabajo infantil*, which is the official term that the ILO uses in Spanish communications. But, as George, a longstanding Bolivian researcher on the topic pointed out in his interview, this can cause confusion and debate:

C (Me) - So what do you think about the term child labour with respect to the work that children and adolescents do here in Bolivia?

G (George) - First is that the translation is not correct

C- How do you mean?

G- [Well] for us what it is, does it refer to labour or does it to an exploitation relationship? What is implied by work is different. I think that first differentiation is important. More [towards] semantic origin, I would say a second point is that there is no child labour, work is neither child, nor adult, etc. When we are talking about the work of children and adolescents we are talking over seven years old. Then we have to see these kind of precisions... but the fundamental one is to differentiate between what is work and what is labour, I think it is important. Under the concept of work, children also work or study at school which is an intellectual work, it is not labour.

From this we can see that work and labour are to be considered to be different, as highlighted by George. Labour can be attributed to an exploitative relationship, presumably between the worker and the employer. Secondly work can mean multiple things, one of them including studying or school work or ‘intellectual’ work as the interviewee states. Thirdly, that when the ILO refers to such terms it does so with an operational definition and not a concept. Operational definitions are functional; they make defining it and measuring it easier. Concepts however are more focussed towards what the concept means. Both are grounded in time and space, as in they are grounded in reality and cultures. Work as a concept thus is dependent on the culture and the moment in which it is used. Finally, George raises the point about how understandings of children and adolescents and how we define or understand them is also grounded in time and space. This is raised by the literature review which covers current understandings and literature on the subject. The data from this study allows us to see to what extent children’s understandings fit in with these definitions and problems around them.

5.3.1. Children’s understandings of definitions of work

For children’s understandings around these definitions and understandings, this section draws upon both the sentence completion task and *Mi Fortaleza*. First, let’s take a definition from *Mi Fortaleza*, from organised working children, and how they would define working children. These definitions apply to both organised and non-organised children.

A child and working child is considered to be any person under 12 years of age and working, and a working adolescent is any person between 12 and 18 years of age who:

- Perform productive activities or provide services of a material, intellectual or [any] other nature, as dependents or for their own account;
- Receive a salary or generate an income in exchange;
- Perform activities towards basic needs that allow the survival of an individual and/or family survival, both in urban and rural areas;
- There is a worker employer relationship because it is family or community work but do not receive economic compensation.

Source: UNATsBO (2010: p109) (Translated by author).

This is a definition of working children as proposed by working children themselves, one which borrows heavily from the previous children's code prior to Law 548 in 2014.

These organised working children define working children/*niños trabajadores* and working adolescents/*adolescente trabajadores* rather than simply child workers. They use the common term *trabajadores* which commonly means workers or employers, and less commonly labourers. This is also a very comprehensive definition to include different types of work, activities and services. They also mention intellectual activities/services, which support the views of George above. There is no mention of anything exploitative here.

With regards to the sentence completion task, which now draws upon all responses from workers and non-workers, the participants were asked several different questions to try to elicit comprehensive interpretations of how they understood work. They were asked “5. Work for me means...”, “6. Work for children and adolescents is....” And “7. I think child labour means...”. The responses to question 6 were mixed, neither overwhelmingly positive nor negative, signifying that work was a lot of things. On the other hand, the responses to question 7 were generally more negative by comparison. Question 5 provided a wide array of responses, as is elaborated in turn below. ⁶²

With regards to question “5. Work for me means...”, the respondents wrote a wide variety of responses. Some responses were very similar to operational definitions, such as Luis (SB63, aged 17) who wrote how work means an action that is carried out to receive an economic benefit. Similarly, Fernand, (SB69, aged 17) wrote how it is an activity to earn money. There were over 30 other responses linked to economic benefit. Twenty-five responses linked to skills and values, such as gaining responsibility and becoming independent. The theme of responsibility appeared as a very common response, not just in response to questions 5, 6 and 7, thus is discussed in much more detail towards the end of chapter. The responses were commonly linked to obtaining skills and money and expressing the values of the students. Overall, these responses were far less negative than

⁶² It is important at this stage to state how the questions were translated in Spanish, as this can alter the meaning. For all of the questions, the term *trabajo* was used, not *labor*, as *trabajo* on its own commonly translates to work (as well as job) where as *labor* commonly translates to labour. However, the common translation for child labour into Spanish is *trabajo infantil*, so when child labour as a term was used, *trabajo infantil* was used as a translation.

the subsequent questions, with no mention of any mistreatment, abuse or force and only one mention of “work for me means... very bad” (Luis [not the same as above], SB101, 15).

With regards to the question “6. Work for children and adolescents is...” there were many different responses. Some of which related to education, in that work is to study (mentioned 12 times in various forms). Other responses related to family in that many work is to help family or support parents (over 20 related responses). Other responses related to income by stating that work is for children and adolescents to earn money, pay for things or give money to their parents. One other key grouping of responses was about preparing for the future, whereby students mentioned work being to study for the future or earning money for the future. However there were some negative responses to this question, some calling work an ‘abuse’, ‘illegal’ and an ‘exploitation’. From this question 34 responses mentioned a negative response (out of 147 actual responses). It was harder to measure the overall positive responses because of the words used, however six of the responses to this question did mention that it was good in some form. Two respondents offered quite a nuanced understanding. Brian (SB10, aged 16) stated that ‘for children (work) is bad because they do not enjoy their childhood and for teenagers something necessary because it helps us to mature’. Andrea, (SB35, aged 14) stated that “for me work in children and adolescents is a bad thing because the children have to study, and but many times it is necessary to work at that age to help our family”

Responses to the question “7. I think child labour means...” also brought out a wide array of answers. These were generally more negative responses than the previous questions, with 59 responses out of 153 actual responses stating something negative.⁶³ Common negative responses stated how children are forced to work (mentioned six times in various forms), how child labour means exploitation and/or mistreatment, an exploitation of rights and abuse of their innocence, manipulation, cutting off their childhood, the loss of smiles and an abuse (mentioned five times in various forms). This common attribution of mistreatment, force, abuse and exploitation provide the overwhelmingly negative association attached to child labour by these children. However, there were other responses to this question, some children accepting perhaps two sides to the concept of child labour. Alanis (CS27, aged 13) stated how child labour had two meanings: “one is

⁶³ This does not mean that 94 responses were positive, however just that they were not clearly negative. For some responses it was hard to deduce any connotation.

to study for the future, the other is a labour exploitation against minimum working age”. Rosario (SB18, aged 15) stated how “I think its exploitation because some parents force them to work, but others want to work of their own volition”. There were four mentions of how child labour meant children had to work out of necessity, without ascribing any positive or negative aspect to the answer.

From this we can understand and interpret that children understand work in different ways, depending how it is framed. Child labour is viewed more negatively than just saying work for children and adolescents. These participants understand child labour as related to mistreatment, force, exploitation and abuse. This provides some clear distinction between work and labour, not just from operational and conceptual definitions, but also as understood by children themselves. However there were also a lot of ‘in between’ responses where neither term, labour nor work, was particularly negative or positive. There were no clear distinctions between the responses from those work worked and those who didn’t work. Some of those who worked wrote negative things in response to questions 6 and 7, as well as positive. Likewise for those who didn’t work. For example, Juan (SB25, aged 14) who worked as a tree feller, said that “work for children and adolescents is bad because they should study and not work”. Likewise, Maite (SB29, aged 14), a baker, say child labour as “exploitation that children are forced into”.

Similarly to the previous chapter, we can also see that these children draw an age distinction between different types of work. There was evidence in these responses of children understanding that work for children was worse, compared to adolescents or juvenes or teenagers. These responses provide some comparison with the thoughts of the actors considered in the previous chapter.

5.3.2. Non-organised children and their views work being legal

This next section further explores the views of non-organised working children, with the aim of further understanding the child labour debates from their perspective. The children and adolescents who completed the sentence completion tasks expressed varied opinions over whether work should be legal or illegal for children and adolescents. The participants were asked to state why they thought work should be legal and why they thought it should be illegal, in order to provide a balanced discussion and give them the opportunity to

think about both sides. They were also asked two other related questions: 6. Work for children and adolescents is..., and 7. I think 'child labour' means....⁶⁴

Their opinions on whether child labour should be legal or illegal did not differ discernibly whether the child/adolescent worked or not. From general analysis, there was no apparent relationship with position or opinion if the child worked or not. Those that worked thought it should be both legal and illegal, likewise if they did not work. One might expect that more working children would argue that it should be legal, and non-working children argue that it should be illegal. These reasons around family, support, economic also suggest a need for explanations into why children work/exploration of why they work.

Despite being given the opportunity to argue both sides, some respondents only argued one way. They gave their reason why children working should be legal, for example out of necessity, and then when asked why it should be illegal, they stated that it should not be illegal. The opposite also occurred: when asked why it should be illegal, the reason of exploitation was given and when asked why it should be legal, they said that it should not be. For the majority of respondents however they saw both sides, and the following analysis highlights the common arguments.

The common reasons given for work being legal were:⁶⁵

- Some children have to work (necessity), and by extension this is to support family or themselves;
- Some children want to work;
- There are skills, experiences and values to be learned or gained, such as respect, responsibility, independence and to better themselves.

The common reasons given for work being illegal were: ⁶⁶

- Work is child exploitation and/or mistreatment and/or abuse;
- Work is dangerous, children can suffer or be harmed;
- Children should study (and some alluded to studying for the future);

⁶⁴ This, as footnote 62 points out, was written as *trabajo infantil*, the common Spanish translation.

⁶⁵ These are the key common responses. They are not direct quotations, but rather have been summarised by myself by grouping very similar responses together.

⁶⁶ See previous footnote.

- It ruins childhoods, also expressed as children should have a nice childhood.

These common arguments show that this group of children's perspectives mirror that of the organisations in Chapter Four. However the above reasons also show additional considerations, such as children wanting to work and a specific mention of the skills to be gained from working. There were many other nuanced arguments and themes to be drawn out from their responses too.

For Carlos, 17 (SB83), whether or not the law should be legal or not, depends on the situation of the family. For them if the family needs a child or adolescent to work, then it should not be illegal. Carlos did not say however that if a family does not need a child to work, then that child working should be illegal.

Some children drew distinctions between children and adolescents or teenagers, and how that should be reflected in law. Those who wrote responses with these distinctions commonly thought that work for children should be illegal, but for adolescents it should be legal. For example, Karen (SB56, aged 14) said that "for adolescents it should be legal because we work and we are working for ourselves, not others, and I think a child should not work because a child cannot do anything". Marco (SB55, aged 14), a builder's assistant, said that "it [work] is good because we learn more. I think children aged 5-10 should not work but at 10 years they should". Similarly, Homor (SB57, aged 12) linked this to the capacity of different age groups, saying that work for adolescents should be legal because they have the capacity to work, but not for children as they do not have that capacity. Clara (SB60, aged 14) again thought along the lines of capacity, saying adolescents, as opposed to children, have a little more conscience to help their family. She also added that children have "disorientated minds". Raquel (SB42, aged 16) who worked as a nanny thought work for children should be illegal, but not for teenagers as they help their parents.

Corroborating this point, one of the interviewees Paul, who has worked with NNATs in various capacities, stated how dialogue with NNATs members shows that the members also have similar thoughts about what should be prohibited. He gave the example of "the 16, 17 year olds also sometimes do not think that the 8 year olds should work because they are small (8) and they are strong (16/17)" (I15).

Karen, 14, and mentioned above also thought that there should be a distinction between different trades, and that this should affect whether work is legal or not. She did not mention which types of trades however. This supports the argument that work or child labour as a blanket term is problematic, and it is important to recognise different types of work.

From these responses and analysis of them, three main points emerged. The first is around mistreatment and advantage that children have taken when working. A common argument was made that children and adolescents should not work because they are mistreated in the process. Within this argument is the idea that children are forced to work, that they have no choice. Participants also used words like mistreatment, manipulation as well as child abuse. There are also distinctions to be drawn here, such as the view from these participants that children are more likely to be taken advantage of or mistreated than adolescents and teenagers. The second point is regarding family; generally, that children and adolescents work to help their family. Whether or not work for children and adolescents should be legal or not depended on family situation for some of the participants. It should only be legal, they believed, so that children's work can continue to support the family. This was mostly given as the reason for why work should be legal.

The final point is around education, and relates to responses from both questions on whether work should be legal and illegal. Work, according to some participants should not be legal because children and adolescents should be studying was a common argument. Also, it was said, because children deserve the right to education. Giovanni (SB30, aged 15) elaborated further by saying that work and education were incompatible, because children and adolescents "forget to study when they work". These three themes are discussed in greater detail in the discussion section of this chapter, relating them to the conceptual framework of the thesis.

5.3.3. Knowledge of child labour laws

The participants were asked to write what they thought about the laws on child labour. They were not asked what law specifically, or whether this meant nationally or internationally intentionally, but rather to see generally what their responses gathered. Overall, there was a lack of knowledge or reference to any specific laws, both the ILO standards and the new Bolivian law. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, this

is in contrast to organised working children. One reason for this could be that children have no access to knowledge about the new law. Despite the (negative) attention it gained in the international media, back in Bolivia it was not effectively disseminated. This would align with comments made by Rupert during our interview, when we were talking about how Law 548 had been perceived by people in Bolivia:

The majority of people do not know this about the minimum age. Those who have written the most and talked about the subject are abroad or, in the ILO, or researchers, journalists, who [...] were interested in the subject, I have read more of the new law and the reduction of the minimum age in researchers or outsiders than in Bolivia, it is unknown because the issue is not a problem in Bolivia, in Bolivia child labour is not a problem, people do not see it as a problem.

(I2)

When asked about child labour laws in Bolivia, of the 174 respondents, only a handful made any reference to any specificity of the laws, whether it be the Bolivian code or any International Standards. Many simply responded ‘I do not know’ to the question ‘What do you think about child labour laws?’ and many also left it blank.

That is not to say that there were not some responses with regards to the new law. Some responses of those who did indicate some knowledge include Giancarlo (SB39, aged 15), who stated that “the laws are not enforced”, which supports what was said earlier about the law not being put into practice and the lack of information. Rosario (CS38, aged 13), stated that “we have heard of a law that children can work from 11 years old.” Although not exactly correct, it shows that some had heard of the lower age limits to work. She continued to say “and to this strengthen your character. For us, we believe that this is a problem as children should grow older enjoying their childhood”. This shows that she has potentially heard justifications for the lower age limits, to which she disagrees. Andres (CS39, aged 13), stated that “the national law number 26390 indicates the prohibition of child labour.” Although this is not the number of the law (and I could not find any other law under this number), again it shows that common practice in Bolivia is to reference the laws by their number, and shows knowledge of a law and prohibition of child labour in some form. Liz (SB9, aged 13), said how “if the child or adolescent wants to work is

authorized with the permission of the parents”, which suggests some knowledge that parents must authorise work. She did not state at what age.

However, from these questions about the law, other things can be learned. Two participants mentioned issues of rights. Both, Karen (SB46, aged 14), and Jose (SB33, aged 15), mentioned that the laws are there to protect children’s rights. However what rights, they did not allude to. Karen mentioned in another response how child labour meant that children could not play, so she could be hinting that rights would protect that. Other responses alluded to laws being there to stop the mistreatment of children, and to help indefensible children, as well as that laws are not respected in Bolivia.

5.4. Intersections. Work and Family. Work and Education. Work and Responsibility

This chapter now moves on to discusses several intersections of children’s work, in relation to family, education and notions of responsibility, which have begun to appear in some of the data already presented in this chapter. These three intersections, although now presented in separate sub sections, are also intertwined with each other. This will be elaborated upon shortly.

5.4.1. Intersection of work and education

This section looks at the links between children’s work and education, looking at work as education, work as detracting from education as well as combining work and education. The relationship between child labour, children working and education is multifaceted. As the previous chapter has shown, one of the reasons for a debate around work or not, is centred on the idea of education; that children should not work because it detracts them from education, or, that they should work because work is in itself an education. Education or formal schooling is classed as a priority for children and adolescents by nearly everyone, evident in the global child labour agenda. On the other hand, many see work as an education in itself. Another argument, as proposed by some of the young participants, and as also mentioned by George in his quote in section 5.3., is that going to school can be considered as work for children. This section thus explores that debate, focussing on how work can be viewed as an education by working children, and also exploring the fact that children in Bolivia combine work and education.

The view that work, as in having a job or role outside of school, from non-organised children and the NNATs, as highlighted by the data, can be viewed as education (outside of formal schooling). Previously, in conceptualisations of childhood work and education were in conflict; a childhood should ideally be committed to education and play meaning there was no place for work. Increasingly however, children's work is being viewed as an alternative way for children to develop certain skills and development. There is a view, that has come out of both the interviews and the sentence completion tasks, that work in whatever industry (not necessarily worst forms) provides children with a different kind of education. Children can learn things like punctuality, respect, financial education etc. There were many responses in the sentence completion task where 'learn' or associated codes were mentioned, such as children replying to the question '3. I like work because....' "I can learn from it" (Kevin, SB80, aged 18), "means to learn new things" (Liz, SB9, aged 13), "work teaches us what life is like" (Marco, SB46, aged 14), as well as "it helps us to understand the real world by learning and listening" (Brian, SB10, aged 16).

There were also similar responses to question '5. Work for me means...' which meant even those that did not work, associated work with learning. Responses included "work is a way to learn new things and more things" (Maria, CS40, aged 13), "to learn that life is not easy" (Roberto, SB22, aged 15) and "that you no longer study" (Alan, SB14, aged 14 and Nataly, SB94, aged 15).

Contradicting the view that some children hold as seeing work as an education, amongst the private school children, a common reason given against work was because it detracts from education. Although this was not overwhelmingly so, there were more references amongst this group of children alluding to the detraction. Two students mentioned how their job was to study, for example Patrick (SC19, aged 13), and there were ten mentions on how work should be illegal because children should be studying, or that work was bad because children should be studying or in school. With the public school, this was not so clear cut, although one student did mention their job was to study, like Patrick above, and four also argued against the legalisation of child labour because children should study.

Education and work are also related because some respondents mentioned how they or others, work in order to pay for costs associated with education. One mentioned they

worked to pay for their school travel. Another mentioned that others they know work to pay for school travel. The teacher contact I had at the public school, explained how some students she knew travelled from their rural homes (or were sent) to that school as it was better than rural ones and had to pay for their own 'passages' or even to stay in spare rooms or with family. Roberto (SB22, aged 15) said he pays for study materials.

In *Mi Fortaleza* the contributors dedicated a short section on education. They state that only a few organised working children only work and do not study, and for many "the school is an important part of the life of the children who work" (UNATsBO, 2010, p.72). Some however expressed worry about combining education and school, stating "We are worried about being late for school because of work" and "I worry about not being able to go to school because of work" (ibid, p.74). As well as campaigning for the right to work, UNATsBO also discuss policy related to education, and desire to have better educational standards. They (back in 2010) wanted to "equip schools and schools to strengthen and improve the education system" as well as "raise the educational level" (ibid, p.72).

5.4.2. Intersection of work and family

The relationship between work and family also emerged out of the research, especially some of the data already presented, largely through three narratives. The first, and overwhelming, is that children work in order to support their family. The second, and in many ways linked to the first, is that children will work in family run businesses. This may be to help support the business through free labour, which ties in to the first. It may also be considered a duty, as it can be in many rural areas. It could also be, as this is the easiest or only place to get a job (especially when the law was still set at 14 as the minimum age). The third narrative, which is less strong but was still present in several responses, is that parents exploit their children. These three narratives will now be explored in more detail.

The first narrative, as has already been touched upon, is that children work to support their family, which we have briefly seen from some of the responses already in the chapter. Children said they should help their family, such as Alex (SB25, aged 15) who said that he worked because he should help his family, and that child labour should be legal because sometimes it is 'obligatory' for children to work. Bill (age unknown, SB32) said

that he worked because they needed to help their family. These responses were not just from children that worked however, plenty of other children suggested that family was one of the main reasons that children worked (over 30 responses to multiple questions in the sentence completion task). Andrea (CS32, aged 14), who did not work, similarly said to Bill, that child labour meant children working who wanted to help their family. This is also supported by some of the views of the actors in the previous chapter too. Indeed, the ILO, believe that one way to stop children working is welfare for the family, supporting this common view. In *Mi Fortaleza*, there are frequent mentions of children working to support their family.

The second narrative, which again has already been touched upon, is that children work in family businesses. Going back to the data presented in section 5.2.2 we saw how there were eight mentions of children and adolescents working for or within family businesses, or helping their parents with other tasks. The data presented in Chapter 1, Figures 7 and 8, also supports this. Again, this could be due children finding it easier to find work in such businesses, and also because for those that do work in these businesses, it is their time and labour that is of benefit to the family unit, rather than financial income from an external source.

However, there is another narrative, which is that parents force their children to work and that this is cruel, which was a common response from children. For example Carlos (SB4, aged 14) said that work for children and adolescents should be illegal because “in some cases there are parents who make their children work out of cruelty”. Karen (SB84, aged 16) was a bit more forgiving by saying that child labour was “not [necessarily] an abuse but a carelessness of parents”. Alex, (SB52, aged 15) similarly said that work for children and adolescents was unfair because “irresponsible parents are selfish”. Both of these responses could be interpreted in two ways, perhaps that irresponsibility with finances mean children have to work, or they are irresponsible in forcing children to work. Both Alex and Karen in two of their other responses linked children working (both work and child labour) to child abuse or exploitation. In addition, Cristian (CS28, aged 13) said that work for children should be illegal because it is forced by parents.

On this note, Angela (CS12, aged 13) mentions how work is “bad because some children get up early and their parents are drug addicts. They only care to take what their children earn”. This was interesting, as having a conversation with the class that this student was

in (in the private school), many pupils thought that this was a common reason why children worked, because of social problems like drunk or drug taking parents. Children thus had to work to feed themselves or feed their parents addiction. Although this was what came from the conversation in the class, not many students mentioned it in their questionnaire.

The role of family class also cropped up in one interview. Emily, who worked for an international NGO, explained how her son works part time:

For example my son began work when he was 15, as you would in the UK [she is originally from the UK], with a Saturday job. And it was like the... He goes to an International School, very upper middle class, and he's the only one who has a job. I see it very much to do with class. Lots of young people, with their parents in the upper middle class are sustained by their parents. I think about my son.... He earns 8bs [roughly £1] per hour and he works 10 hours. Complete exploitation. He works in an Italian restaurant. He's a waiter. Complete exploitation, and I think shit this is really bad. But he loves it. Yeah most of his friends think he is crazy, you know, why would you work when you could be playing football? Why would I need to work because my parents will give me money that's their job. And for upper middle class they're really not interested.

(I7)

This disclosure more than likely came about as the interviewee was originally from Britain, so had a different perspective on exploitation of children working. She related exploitation more to a wage issue, as opposed to say physical abuse, given the higher wages that children that age in the UK would earn. She also offers an notable perspective on the class dynamic, as classed herself as upper middle class in the Bolivian context, but lower middle class/working class in the UK context.

5.4.3. Understanding work through responsibilities

This section now explores the concept of responsibility in relation to unorganised children's work and will argue that children understand and can conceptualise their own responsibilities, and view work as a way to exercise such responsibility. The children and

adolescents that completed the sentence completion questionnaire showed a variety of responses that related to responsibility. This was one of the strongest themes to come from the data. Across all responses there were just over 50 mentions of responsibility or similar themes. There was a range of responses from different participants, arising from the following questions in the task:

2. I work because... (for those that did work)
5. Work for me means...
6. Work for children and adolescents is...
7. I think child labour means...
8. Work for children and adolescents should be illegal because...
10. What do you think about the child labour laws?
11. As a Bolivian, what does work mean at your age?
12. What does it mean to be a citizen at your age?

Examples of these included “Work for me means being more responsible, it means more duties and is beneficial for everyone” (SB45) and “Work at my age means to be a little more responsible and mature” (SB10). In addition, responsibility was mentioned by those that worked and by those that did not (with the exception as a response to question 2 on the sentence completion questionnaire). So, what does all this talk about responsibility mean in terms of childhood? The responses from children and adolescents themselves, as well as the duty of responsibility in the new code suggest then that Bolivian children and adolescents are taking on a responsibility, but also feel responsible for their families. In addition, responsibility is also something learned, gained and developed through work.

Firstly, taking on a responsibility by children, is in order to provide for family, but also in tasks and duties at home, such as care roles. This is an economic contribution in terms of wages earned from work, but also a contribution of time at family run businesses, such as restaurants or small street shops, as well as looking after other family members such as younger siblings. Such responses include, from both workers and non-workers, “Work for me means a degree of responsibility acquiring of experience helping with extra income to the family”, “Work at my age means having more responsibility for your family” (Rico, SB66, aged 17) and “Work at my age means a responsibility we have and sacrifice we make for our family” (Rosario, SB18, aged 15). Conversely, one participant argued that work should be illegal because “some children and adolescents are obligated

to work for their parents” (Percy, SB51, aged 14). The responsibility that these children feel towards their families can be related to, and perhaps explained by Punch (2001) who notes that from her research, there is a cultural expectation in rural Bolivia is that children should have a strong sense of responsibility and obligation to their family.

Secondly, feeling responsible is almost a justification for taking on responsibility. Responses suggest that the participants felt responsible for their parents and that they should help their families as it is their responsibility. This is also linked to an expression of need to help their families. This feeling is encouraged by the code, although whereas that encouragement is towards state and society, the feeling expressed by the children and adolescents themselves is towards their family. Responses included “I work because I should help my family” (mentioned twice) alongside many other references to children working to help their family – both of these respondents worked and this was a justification they gave.

Finally, responsibility as well as being felt, is almost a sense and skill to be learned, gained and developed through work. Respondents, both workers and non-workers stated that you learn responsibility through work. One specifically mentioned that work for children and adolescents should not be illegal because “you learn to value and become responsible” (Victor, SB20, aged 16), and another that “work at my age means to develop responsibility” (Siriam, SB88, aged 15) and “work at my age means to learn to be responsible” (Jhoel, SB73, aged 17).

On the theme of developing responsibility, UNATsBO also cite responsibility as a key component of working as a child and adolescent. In their publication *Mi Fortaleza*, they present their argument for the right to work and in it there appears a general argument that work allows children/adolescents capacity to become more responsible and gain responsibilities. They use one example of a worker, Micaela from El Alto, who states that her work experience in markets and shops has served her to become a more responsible person, an attribute she can take into her future career.

However, for others, responsibility was towards education rather than work. This came predominantly from the private school students. For Alejandra (CS29, aged 13), she believed that “at this age your responsibility is to study”. She also went on to say that working at her age “means an abuse, my responsibility at my age is to study and go to

school”. Thus, for her, responsibility at her age is towards education, schooling and studying. Like most of the students at this school, she did not work. Further respondents also gave similar responses, opting for the term duty rather than responsibility. Natalie (CS13, aged 13) said that as a Bolivian, working at her age “means something bad, since our duty is to study”. She also repeated this as an answer to another question. There were also 7 other mentions aside from these, 3 from the public school, relating responsibility, duty or obligation to studying or education in some way. This suggests a difference in expectations and priorities from the private school students compared to the public school students, partially along the class divisions between the two schools (as highlighted in Chapter Three), and will be examined more in the discussion section at the end of this chapter.

From this examination of responsibility and work, the question arises as to whether work teaches children and adolescents to become responsible, or whether children and adolescents who have a sense of responsibility decide to work. Arguments can be put forward for both. Based on the responses from this study, it is more obvious that the participants here believe that work teaches responsibility and thus it is fair to consider work in itself as a type education. However, it cannot be dismissed that some children who feel responsible work for their family. Both points are not necessarily mutually exclusive either, perhaps children both feel responsible and also gain that from their work. Nevertheless, the more sceptical of participants suggest that the reality is that situations of poverty mean the children work, and that the idea of responsibility may be a nicer, more positive narrative that they give for their situation.

A corollary of children feeling or taking on responsibility towards their family and parents, is parental responsibility towards children. Children are commonly viewed as responsibility of parents or carers and Law 548 demonstrates this with a section entitled parental obligations. In the UNCRC (Articles 5 and 14) the child is recognised as rights holder who shall be allowed to exercise his or her rights. In doing so, parents have responsibilities, rights and duties to provide the child with direction and guidance appropriate to age and capacity. From the data however, some children argued an alternative to the notion of work being a way to exercise responsibility for children, and that children work is actually a result of irresponsible parents. This links to the issue of work and mistreatment, and the narrative when the intersection of family and work was explored previously, which is that parents force their children to work.

Three (non-working) participants explicitly stated children working is because of the irresponsibility of parents. Alex's (SB52, aged 15) and Karen's (SB84, aged 16) responses mentioned earlier, suggest how some children working was due to irresponsible and selfish parents, either irresponsibility with respect to finances, meaning children have to work, or that parents are irresponsible in forcing children to work. Rosario (CS38, aged 13), similarly stated that "when I see a child working it breaks my heart since I ask so many things from my parents and they give them to me" suggesting that children were working because that child's parents could not provide in the same way hers could. Antonio (CS33, aged 13) suggested that the irresponsibility was a wider, societal issue; he observed that work for children and adolescents is bad because every child has the right to study and play, and that it was unjust and irresponsible that children had to work.

We have seen from this section, that in exploring three intersections of children's work (with education, family and through responsibility), each intersection is also intertwined with each other. Education relates to responsibility, responsibility relates to family, education relates to family less so. Together the section shows that it is important to not look at work in isolation but also look how it is related to other important domains in children's lives, as this is how they show they understand it.

5.5. Chapter Discussion. Work, Responsibility, Citizenship and Childhood

This chapter has examined the different types of work that children and adolescents in Bolivia do, and their thoughts on this, and has concentrated on the views of non-organised children. There is now a requirement for a discussion on the data and analysis, in relation to the literature and theory that this research is grounded in, just as the previous chapter did. Looking through the framework inspired by childhood studies, citizenship and rights, allows us to examine and discuss the thoughts and perspectives of these non-organised children in Bolivia (and as well the perspectives provided by the NNATs and other participants in this chapter) to discuss child labour debates from a different perspective.

5.5.1. Childhood studies, norms and non-organised children

In the commonly held view of a normal or a minority world childhood, work and education are incompatible. The main point of this view is that work is believed to remove children from education or detract them from it. The responses of children who argue that education can be hampered by work, and that work detracts from schooling, fit directly

in line with the views of an ideal northern childhood and the proponents of those that call for the abolition of child labour based on these ideals. However, some of the data presented and analysed from the respondents in this chapter also contradicts this. The views and opinions of children show that in fact they are compatible, because children work alongside education and also because children view work as an education. Ultimately, this shows that the views of children and adolescents can be related to, and can contest differing views of childhood. The mixture of views show that children transcend dominant and local constructions of childhood. The views of these children, add to the majority world conception that work and education are compatible.

However simultaneously, there is the coexistence of minority and majority world childhoods in Bolivia, evident in the different opinions and expectations of children between the public and private school students. The responsibility towards education from the private school students, which is evidence of a minority world or normal childhood, and responsibility towards family manifest in children working, which is evidence of a more common majority world childhood, show this coexistence. This coexistence relates to Hecht's (1998) work on nurturing and nurtured childhoods, with reference to street children in Brazil, a majority world context. As mentioned in Chapter One, a nurtured childhood is one where a child receives schooling, material comforts and security, as opposed to a nurturing childhood whereby children are part of household economies. He states that middle class 'nurtured' children in the majority world have more in common with middle class minority world children than they do with children in their own country. We can see that with these coexisting majority and minority world childhoods in Bolivia. The expectations and opinions of the private school children, perhaps share more in common with middle class children in the minority world.

In addition to the similarities with the minority world, these perspectives from the children (both public and private), relate to research in a specific minority world context. Mizen (1992) has found that working as a child in the UK can provide vital continuity between the social relations of schooling and adolescence, and those of the adult world of work. He also states how working-class children in the UK learn how to spend and earn independent income, something we can see from those research participants who stated they worked for their own money. Thus, from this brief comparison, we see continuity and shared perspectives of children, through work, across the minority and majority world.

A further point of discussion related to childhood studies is the interdependence of these children and their families. Children are both dependent on their families, but their families are also dependent on them. This data in particular speaks to the dependence of families on their children, shown by the expression of children saying that they work in order to support their families, often by working in family businesses. This partly supports the findings of Punch's (2002a) research on Bolivian rural families, which found that children's school to work transitions were dependent on interdependent household relations. The interdependence of children and their families is a common trait in the majority world (Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

5.5.2. Lived responsibilities and citizenship

From this chapter, we see how children's understandings of the intersections between schooling, education, work and family partly demonstrate their lived citizenship; their cultural backgrounds and material circumstances affect their lives. We see how some children understand, negotiate and practise their responsibilities, their sense of belonging and desire to participate through work and, to a lesser extent, schooling.

The data also shows us that, while the notions of living rights and lived citizenship are useful for understanding the work of children and adolescents, adding the idea of lived responsibilities as a part of lived citizenship to these is also useful. These lived responsibilities, building upon lived rights and citizenship, constitute the meaning of responsibility in these children's lives. Work gives them an opportunity to feel and act responsible, as well as learn to be responsible. It also suggests that, through work, children can and do understand their own responsibility and the responsibility of other children, and can articulate these responsibilities in a way which is both personal to them and dependent on their social and cultural backgrounds. Just like living rights, these perspectives challenge the idea that responsibilities come from above and are thrust upon children when they reach a certain age or adulthood, or by their parents, or by the state. In practice, children can actually take these responsibilities on themselves, from below.

Enacted citizenship can help us to further understand the understandings and justifications given by these children. Part of enacted citizenship explains how children negotiate their rules of social coexistence, contributing to the socially agreed good, and fulfilling their own individual rights. Their perspectives over the legality of child labour are an example

of these rules and the social good. However these perspectives are not exercised in any formal participatory spaces or processes, compared to the organised working children in the previous chapter, but rather in their own or their family domains. While less tangibly expressed than organised working children, these non-organised working children have still engaged in actions of citizenship by either working or going to school, as these are the domains and spaces available to them.

5.6. Chapter Conclusions and Summary

This chapter has examined what work children do, how it is understood and articulated by them, and what it means for children and adolescents in Bolivia and also the child labour debates. This has been with a focus on non-organised working children. This chapter has examined the different types of work that children and adolescents in Bolivia do, and their thoughts on this. The chapter has also analysed these debates, the actors involved and their claims, in relation to the conceptual framework that grounds this research.

The chapter argues, firstly, that children understand and articulate their own work, and the work of other children in many different ways. Commonly, they often do it in relation to the family, and in relation to their education. These intersections provide an insightful way to view the work that children do, and thus how these inform child labour debates. Secondly, non-organised working children (and non-working children) have a variety of different thoughts and opinions, arguing multiple reasons for child labour to be legal or not. Some of these reasons can be mapped against those claims given by the organised actors in the previous chapter, such as it being necessary given the poor economic situation of many families. Thirdly, through the concept of responsibility, we can see how non-organised children understand the work that they, and others do. Children understand and can conceptualise their own responsibilities, and view work as a way to exercise such responsibility. Finally, bringing the voices of these children into the debates is important not only to let children have a say and be heard, but also because they provide different and previously unheard perspectives, which this chapter presents.

In terms of the research questions, we can see how the data presented and discussed in this chapter addresses the questions in part. We can see what the debates are and why there are debates over child labour in Bolivia. We can see that children believe children should be protected from harm and exploitation that some work can cause. We can also

see that some children choose to work and need to help support their families, and thus that their right to work should be protected. We also see in part what children's and young people's views are on work in this context, and why they hold these views. Non-organised working children have different opinions and justifications for theirs and others' work, which intersect with their family situation and priorities. Lastly, we have also seen what childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights can tell us about these perspectives and debates. That is, that normative understandings of what childhoods should be like manifest themselves in these opinions and perspectives from these children and adolescents.

It is important to note that there are other shared perspectives between the non-organised working children, and the NNATs, as well as around the intersections of work, family and education, which stem from the analysis and discussion of this and the previous chapter. These are reserved for a final discussion in the conclusion.

Thesis Conclusion

In this thesis, on the basis of the contextual background, review of the literature and guided by the conceptual framework, I set out with the overarching aim of analysing the child labour debates by including children's and adolescents' perspectives on work. This was done by posing the research question of **how can children's and adolescents' perspectives on work inform the debates over child labour and child work in Bolivia?** This was further supported with the (sub) research questions:

- What are the debates over child labour that exist in Bolivia and why do they exist?
- What are children and adolescents' understandings on work in this context, and how do they articulate them?
- What can the conceptual framework (built upon childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights) tell us about children's and adolescents' perspectives and understandings, and about these debates?

This concluding chapter first presents a final discussion of the overlapping themes and intersections of rights and responsibilities, and education and family. Second, it reiterates key arguments that this thesis makes, as well as the key findings to the research questions above, and the contributions this thesis makes to knowledge. Finally, it offers suggestions for further research and limitations of this research, and some final remarks.

i. Concluding Discussion

This section provides a final discussion which is based on the empirical data collected, the analysis conducted and the key findings presented. As I mentioned at the end of Chapter Five, there were other shared perspectives between the non-organised working children, and the NNATs, as well as around the intersections of work, family and education, which stem from the analysis and discussion in Chapters Four and Five. These are discussed here.

i.i. Combining rights *and* responsibilities

Rights and responsibilities are integral parts of both children's citizenship and childhood studies. By combining the two we can examine children's work in Bolivia

with a focussed lens, as both concepts have emerged from the data and have been used as a lens with which to analyse it.

Both rights, and to a lesser extent responsibilities, come from the top down and bottom up (Wall, 2008), or can be considered as codified or lived (Hanson and Nieuwenhuys, 2013).⁶⁷ Rights are codified and afforded to children by adults through the state, as are certain responsibilities, duties and obligations as has been shown in the latest law, Law 548. However, they are also arrived at from the bottom up. Children have fought for and claimed the right to work, and understand their rights in different ways, not necessarily only in relation to rights that are already codified. In addition, children also express and formulate their own responsibilities and rights in terms of work, not just those placed upon them in an institutional framework by law, their parents, or their communities.

The right to work has been a contestation both from above and below. It has been granted from above by the Bolivian government and Law 548. However it has also been articulated from below by organised working children, as evidenced in their draft law and their campaign for the right to work. Children, both working and non-working, also contest popular conceptions of rights and also rights as ‘given to them’ in charters and laws, both national laws and the international standards which say they should not work. They challenge them not only by campaigning for the right to work, but in their opinions and understandings of the work that they do. They also do it by actually working, whether it be working for their family, working for themselves, or by understanding why children, who are the same age as they are, work.

Lister (2008) argues that young people find it harder to articulate their rights than they do their responsibilities. Indeed, this is partially true of this research in Bolivia. The organised working children strongly and more commonly talk about their rights, but do also mention responsibility and obligations. However, the non-organised children (both working and non-working) more commonly talk about responsibilities, in the three ways discussed in Chapter Five: as taking on responsibility both for their families and their own lives, feeling responsible for family members, and responsibility as something to be learnt or gained.

⁶⁷ Although these do not necessarily have to be mutually exclusive.

Thus we see that different understandings of rights and responsibilities are shaped by children, both working and non-working, and adults. In the case of work, children make these understandings their own in search for justification and explanation for their work, as well as in the claim for respect, dignity and visibility. Adults however grant, or hand down, these rights and responsibilities to children through laws or forms of governance, even down to the community or family level.

Furthermore, rights and responsibilities are a way to bring together other intersections of children's lives that have been voiced by the children in this research: family and education. Rights and responsibilities can help us understand these dimensions of children's lives in a very particular way. With regards to family, we see how children feel and take on certain responsibilities, through work, towards and for their family. With regards to education, we see both a conflict between the right to work and the right to education, as well as how some children feel a certain responsibility toward education, rather than work, arguing that their time and energy should be dedicated towards education, and especially, to formal schooling. However children also argue that work can provide an education, both by providing the financial means to study and by providing a means to learn and develop different skills and traits. These priorities, work and/or education, both combine and conflict with each other.

Enacted citizenship, lived citizenship and lived rights (the primary concepts from the conceptual framework) allow us to understand children's work and the debates by seeing and understanding children's lived experience of work. We see how children are citizens, not because of status, but because of their contribution through work, and their construction and determination of their own social and political lives, the lives of those around them, and of the societies in which they live. Their rights are more than those codified, but they also have a recognition of those rights that are codified and come from above, yet contest and challenge them. They understand their rights based on the time and context in which they live and work such as their socio-economic realities, various social relationships, and ideas and understandings of right and wrong. Furthermore, we see that it is a combination of these three primary concepts, by virtue of their understandings and shared terms (or secondary concepts) which allow us to reach these conclusions. Looking at them in isolation from each other would be limiting.

Larkins (2014, p.13) distinguishes between actions of citizenship as ‘broadly contributing to dominant definitions of social good’, and acts of citizenship as ‘transgressing established norms to rebalance distributions of rights, responsibilities and status’. Non-organised children incline perhaps more to the actions, because of similar values and articulations around their work, and NNATs more the acts, because of their campaign which resulted in acknowledged formal rights and status. However these should be perhaps viewed as a spectrum from actions to acts, rather than an and/or.

In response to the suggestion that non-organised working children find it easier to articulate their responsibilities as opposed to rights, the concept of lived responsibility has emerged. Lived responsibility, as an element of lived citizenship, can help explain children’s perspectives on work and their understandings of it. Lived responsibilities are thus proposed as (inspired by lived rights and citizenship) the meanings which responsibility has in these children’s lives. These could be, as inspired by the data, responsibilities which they feel or act out upon (from below), as opposed to those which are put upon them (from above). This is proposed as a more focussed way of looking at citizenship, instead of or alongside rights, as a way to understand children’s place in society, family or community, which stems from the children’s own understanding. Specifically for these children, work gives them that opportunity to feel and act responsibly, as well as learn to be responsible. It also suggests that children can and do, through work, understand their own responsibility and articulate this responsibility in a certain way. Just like living rights, lived responsibility challenges the idea that responsibilities come from above and are thrust upon children, either when they reach a certain age or adulthood, or by their parents. Rather, children and adolescents actually take these responsibilities on themselves, what might be considered ‘from below’. The idea of responsibility, as opposed to rights or being classed as citizens through status (as adults), enables children to make sense of their lives and the lives of those around them. This applies both to work and to education.

Archard (2014) asks the question of whether children need to ask for their rights in terms of rights-talk? Or is it sufficient that they act according to what they believe are their rights, without explicitly claiming them? He gives the example of children realising their right to food by stealing when they are hungry. In this research, one could say that these children, through work, realise their right to be out of poverty, to support their family, to be independent, amongst the many other justifications they give for their work.

i.ii. Intersecting family and education

Another key aspect of this research is how the work of children and adolescents intersects with their families and education in many different ways, and provides us with a broader understanding of how children understand and talk about their work. Ultimately from this, it is hard to view and understand children's work in isolation from these other dimensions of children's lives.

Chapters Four and Five showed us how many children work in a family setting, whether it be a business or in the home, or work to contribute to family income and to alleviate the pressure on their parents. From this we can see a common majority world characteristic. It also underlines the interdependent nature of relationships within families. Although this research has only consulted the views of children, and not their families, the findings strongly suggest that children are both dependent on their families, and their families are also dependent on them.

In terms of education, the children in this study both accept and challenge the common conception that work at their age detracts from their education and schooling. Whilst some children see their duty and obligation is to study, others proudly balance work and formal schooling, and see their work as an education in itself. The talk of education had a higher incidence among unorganised working children, and especially those at the private school, but perhaps this is not a surprise given the school setting in which the data was collected. Differing views about childhood also co-exist, as do different experiences. The westernised minority world views on childhood suggest that organised working children, campaigning for their right to work, is considered deviant from the norm. However, the views of these children, add to the majority world conception that work and education are compatible. Yet, the views of the children from the private school show a coexistence of minority and majority world views of childhood in Bolivia, evidenced by the different opinions and expectations of children among the public and private school students. The sense of responsibility towards education from the private school students suggests a leaning towards what might be considered a normal childhood from a minority world perspective.

Through these intersections we also see expressions of children's agency, their active determination in their own and in their family lives. This supports the conclusions of Jennings et al (2006) first mentioned in Chapter One, who stated how working can

provide children with opportunities to demonstrate agency, take responsibility and contribute to economic needs of the family. This is demonstrated through multiple experiences and choices, whether that be because children work to support their family, or actually because they believe that they should dedicate their time now to schooling and take responsibility for that. Agency is twofold however, and is not just about how children shape and understand their world, but how this agency is potentially shaped, limited or understood by the context or society within which they live. Again, this discussion is limited by the fact that only children were consulted in this study, and not their families. However, as the prologue examined, there are broader social, economic and political forces at play which do dictate the extent to which children can exercise their agency.

ii. Thesis Argument

To reiterate, this thesis has five main, interrelated arguments:

A. The category of ‘child labour’ is not very helpful for understanding children and adolescents who work in the context of this research, because it is too broad a label and because of negative connotations attached to the term. Yet, this is still the main way that the work children do is being articulated in both literature and in policy, especially with reference to the ‘Global South’. However, as we can see from this research in the Bolivian context, this is starting to change, which is also why it is useful to look at Bolivia. This thesis contributes to the newer literature which focusses on children’s work/working children as opposed to child labour, concentrating more on what we can learn about children’s work in a more holistic way. This thesis thus looks at child work and working children, in the context and debates surrounding child labour.

B. Building upon point A, as a category and concept, child labour is also not very helpful for understanding children’s own experiences and interpretation of their work and other children’s work, as borne out by the Bolivian context and empirical findings from this research. Children’s own experiences and understandings are quite diverse (see point D). Thus, care is needed when defining such terms.

C. What is also not helpful, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in much of academic and policy discourses on children working is the fact that children’s perspectives on work are not taken into account. It is important to understand children’s perspectives on this,

as they are the ones who are actually doing the work. This also follows the call in much recent academic work, and follows from one of the rights of the UNCRC (article 12), which is to increase child participation, give children a voice, and listen to that voice. In the Bolivian context it is unrepresented and non-organised children who have, intentionally or unintentionally, been denied a voice.⁶⁸ While children from NNATs have been very active and vocal in the debates about child work, non-organised working children have not been. This thesis gives those children opportunity to be heard.

D. Following this, it should also be recognised that children have varied perspectives on working, which are important to consider in both policy and academic debates. Their views and opinions are nuanced, and their understandings of their own lives and their situations are complex, informative and show that they can understand their world. Furthermore, what these perspectives show is that it might be helpful to think about citizenship, and specifically rights and responsibilities as concepts within citizenship, as a lens which allows us to move beyond the ‘child labour’ debates and assumptions, and actually attend to the perspectives of children. In addition, children’s and young people’s intersecting relationships with their family and their education form part of the context as well as help explain how and why children work in Bolivia. How children’s work intersects in different ways with these aspects of their lives is discussed in the thesis.

E. There is a conflict between world views on childhood, citizenship, rights and child labour. Certain Bolivian views on childhood which thus relate to work, do not align with the views of childhood as presented by other major actors in these child labour debates, notably the ILO and child labour standards. In policy and academic debates, this often translates into not only what is in the best interest of the child, but who should decide what the best interest is.

iii. Findings

To support these arguments, the findings in relation to the research questions of this thesis are thus:

What are the debates over child labour that exist in Bolivia and why do they exist?

⁶⁸ Given the fact that the law has been partially revoked, this also throws into question how seriously the voices of represented children were actually taken.

These debates are complex and multifaceted. They are moral, institutional and scholarly debates. Understanding them on a spectrum of legalisation and valuation of work towards elimination and toleration is helpful because this is the way the relatively sparse literature on this issue has done so far, and because this is how most actors articulate their position. However, this spectrum misses certain aspects. Notably, it misses that unrepresented working children and non-working children have a range of different thoughts and opinions. These children argue both sides of the elimination or legalisation debate. On the one hand, non-organised children believed that work should be legalised because children have to work, want to work and because there are several gains from work. On the other hand, they feel it should not be legal because children are at risk of mistreatment and should spend their time doing other things, such as studying in school. These children also articulate that the question of legality also depends on the age of children, the type of work that they do, and also the family context, i.e. whether it is an economic necessity. Bringing these voices into the debates is important both to let children have a say and be heard, giving them a voice that was previously missing.

From the organised and prominent actors examined in this thesis, we see that the debates are grounded in expectations and understandings of childhood and justify the spectrum of legalisation and valuation of work towards elimination and toleration. We see from the NNATs that they wish work to be both legalised and valued, and that it should be up to children, as active agents, to decide whether they work or not. Why should not, in their view, work be a valuable part of childhood? From the Bolivian government we see that the theme of protection is a pertinent one in the debate over children working. It is based on the idea that instead of children being protected from work, children can be protected whilst at or in work. There was a partial, albeit limited acceptance and opportunity for children to demonstrate their agency and ability to participate in the creation of Law 548. Although the backtracking on this law without the consultation of working children now questions this even more. From the ILO is the resolute position that child labour should be eliminated and no children should work. This position is based on the belief that child labour is detrimental to children's wellbeing, exploitative and detracts from their education which takes priority during childhood. There is agreement and middle ground shared by these organised and prominent actors, and to a certain extent non-organised working children which is that the exploitation of children through work must be forbidden and ideally, education should take priority.

These debates exist due to the social, economic and political background of Bolivia, evidenced in the examination of the ongoing process of change in Bolivia in the prologue to this thesis. This was displayed in the creation of Law 548 (and since 2018 the partial withdrawal). Organised working children participated in the formulation of this law, but only after significant campaigning. The ILO, in their standards and the child labour conferences, have been criticised for not including children, but also excluding certain voices in the narrative of the global child labour agenda. The Bolivian case also demonstrates that these debates also exist because of interplay between global influences and local practices which alter the perception of childhood. This shows that there is not one way of what constitutes a correct or ideal childhood, but rather competing ones. The ‘local’ view of Bolivia, encouraged by the state is in conflict with the more common, or ‘global’ view and agenda that work should not be part of an ideal childhood.

These debates also exist, because there is no fundamental right or wrong as to whether children should work or not. There is unquestionably an ideal that it would be better if children did not work, especially when they are younger. There is also a more unquestionable ideal that children should not be harmed or exploited. However, with more acceptable forms of work, debate depends on different worldviews, whether it be between minority/majority, North or South, or global/local. These debates are not just specific to Bolivia however. They are no doubt discussed, practiced and demonstrated in other parts of the world, especially in the Global South where children’s work is more common.

What are children and adolescents’ understandings on work in this context, and how do they articulate them?

Children and young people’s understandings are varied. Organised working children researched for this thesis articulated their work through rights talk, and an expression of needs and justice. This plays out as a conflict of rights and as rights claims for dignity, respect and recognition through work. Unorganised working children however commonly articulate their work through an intersection with both family and education, as well as through the concept of responsibility. That is, that children work both for their family (either because they want to or because they feel they should do) and they

work for themselves, to earn their own money. Children also work to learn, as the financial support it provides allows them to buy study materials, or because of the skills and development they get through work. The concept of responsibility works as a common way for children to justify work, either why they do work, why others do work or why they do not work.

Non-working children also understand work in a variety of ways. They see it as both a necessity to alleviate poverty, but also as an exercise of choice by children and adolescents. Their views are also dependent on whether it is defined as work or child labour. Some non-organised working children in this study commonly see child labour as a negative, mirroring the position of the ILO and global agenda against child labour, however when the term work is used in isolation, this is less clear cut. There are also subtle differences depending on the class background of these children. Private school children put slightly more emphasis on the importance of education, compared to public school children who more commonly articulate work as a response to the economic situation of families.

Ultimately, these understandings stem from the individual, familial and national contexts of these children and adolescents. For the NNATs this is their institutional support, shared motivations and shared identity. For non-organised children this is their social class, their family's economic situation and their own motivations. It is also due to the broader national context where work is a common aspect of children's lives.

What can the conceptual framework (built upon childhood studies, children's citizenship and children's rights) tell us about children's and adolescents' perspectives and understandings, and these debates?

In relation to childhood studies, we have seen that through these debates in Bolivia conflicting views and simultaneous perceptions of different childhoods emerge. These are shared across the binaries of North/South, minority/majority, or normal/other. The mixture of views show that children transgress dominant and local constructions of childhoods.

The views and experiences of both organised and non-organised working children add to the majority world conception that work and education are compatible. There is also

the coexistence of minority and majority world childhoods in Bolivia, evident in the different opinions and expectations of children between the public and private school students. The responsibility towards education from the private school students, evidence of a minority world or normal childhood, and responsibility towards family manifest in children working, is evidence of a more common majority world childhood.

The campaign and subsequent claim for the right to work by working children is an example of a living and localised rights understanding (based on their own situations and broader context within which they live), as well as a claim for rights from below. This political involvement is also an example of lived citizenship and demonstrates how organised working children have understood and negotiated their rights, responsibilities, and participation in relation to work and the struggle to have that work recognised.

We see how children are citizens, not because of their status as competent adults, but because of their contribution through work, and their construction and determination of their own social and political lives, the lives of those around them (especially their families), and of the societies in which they live. Furthermore, these children have enacted themselves as citizens through this context specific experience of childhood – the campaign, law drafting, protests and law making – as well as by contributing to socially agreed good and fulfilling their own individual rights. Specifically, that is, that work allows them to contribute to their families and society, and should recognise that they want to. Children's perspectives on the question over the legality of child labour, both its rights and wrongs, show they understand these social rules - the norms and regulations of work - and base it on their own experiences. Fundamentally for some, this is whether children should get to decide if they work or not.

For non-organised children, their understandings of the intersections between schooling, education, work and family partly demonstrate their lived citizenship; their cultural backgrounds and material circumstances which affect their lives. We see how some children understand, negotiate and practice their responsibilities, belonging and participation through and as work, towards their family, and to a lesser extent schooling.

We also see at play in these debates a conflict of agency, participation and representation. This is through the participation of some working children in Law 548, only after they campaigned. While the Bolivian government were able to take credit for

this inclusion, these children were then excluded when part of the law were revoked. The perspectives of the NNATs, and some non-organised children are challenging what their best interests are. We can also see that children do and are capable of expressing their agency. This is a fundamental element of childhood studies. What this adds to the field, is that by understanding their rights, claiming rights, taking on and demonstrating responsibility, the children in this study express various aspects of agency.

Building upon the above I finally consider the main research question, which was: **How can children's and adolescents' perspectives on work inform debates on child labour and child work in Bolivia?**

Children and adolescents' perspectives on work have largely been ignored, and by thus researching them, we can see actually see (or hear) them and hope to understand them. In a more practical sense, Law 548 was not going to be as it currently is.⁶⁹ It was through the NNATs campaigning that it came into being. However, for non-organised children their perspectives do not necessarily contribute on an organised, practical level, but do in terms of their own lives, their family lives and the lives of children like them. The majority of working children are not organised and are unaware of the debates at institutional level, though they still understand and conceptualise work and their lives. Ultimately however, children (working or not) can only inform debates if they are given a voice by those with the power to do so. The ILO and similar bodies do not do this whereas the Bolivian government did, all be it a certain sub section of children.

On a more conceptual level, children's and adolescents' perspectives on work allow us to move beyond the negative attention that children's work has received, especially in the Global South, largely because of the focus on child labour as an unquestionable negative. While many instances and contexts within which the worst forms of child labour occur still require attention, the Bolivian case tells us that actually children want to work, that they choose to work and why. Not all work thus should be viewed with a negative lens. It allows us to perhaps focus on more positive aspects of children's work, such as children contributing to alleviating poverty, earning their own money and independence, and demonstrating responsibility and other characteristics.

⁶⁹ Or at least was, prior to the amendments made in 2018.

Moving away from Bolivia, these perspectives on work can also show us that there are many shared experiences and understandings across the Global North/South divide, and also with many other contexts in the South. Many of the more formal jobs that the children in this study do, could also be performed by children in many Global North contexts. Some of the more informal jobs, such as a *lustrabota* or *voceador* are likely to be performed in many other urban areas in Latin America. Furthermore, the experiences and understandings of organised working children could be compared to that of other working children's movements, such as the African Movement of Working Children and Youth for example (Terenzio, 2007; Liebel, 2003).

iv. Contributions

These findings thus lead on to the contributions that this thesis makes, which I now consider. This thesis is a contribution to the broad fabric of childhood studies, in so far as it focusses on the specific threads of citizenship and rights, as inspired by the articulation of James (2010) and Arce (2015). It uses children's work to further understand these threads, in the Bolivian context, and vice-versa, using these threads to examine children's work. The special edition *Childhood journal* (2018) called for childhood studies to become less northern centric, and engage with other disciplines in order to advance childhood studies both theoretically and methodologically. This thesis has done that, adding counterweight to the Northern imbalance.

Methodologically, this thesis has contributed by the application of the data, reading and theory to the Bolivian context, as initially highlighted by Chapter Three. The survey of children in schools in such a format with the questions asked has, to my knowledge, not been done before (Bolivia or elsewhere). Applying them in the two schools has allowed for the collection and presentation of the empirical data. While interviews on a similar topic and with similar people and organisations have been conducted before (Liebel, 2016; Fontana and Grugel, 2015), combining the data provided from them with the questionnaire above is also a specific contribution.

Collectively, these methods have allowed for the debates on child labour to be examined in much greater detail than has been previously. It has allowed for a presentation of the views of three actors and also their relationships and positions, which had previously been to a limited extent. It has also allowed the presentation and examination of a previously unheard voice: non-organised children (both working and non-working). These children

and adolescents had so far, intentionally or unintentionally, been excluded. Furthermore, the space in which these children were asked about work, an educational space, adds another dynamic to the contribution. Previous research conducted by others on and with the NNATs has usually been in their work spaces (such as Prestel, 2008).

The empirical contributions have been most evident in Chapters Four and Five, and have been presented in the responses to the research questions above. These contributions have added to knowledge about child labour/children working, and the intersections with family and education examined in section 1.3.4. The findings support that children do work in family businesses in the Global South and that children contribute to the family economy, but contributes to this that children want to take on that responsibility and feel that responsibility. In terms of work and education, whereby previous attention has been focussed on attainment, this thesis contributes another dynamic that different children have different responsibilities and priorities between working and education. Punch (2001) has shown how, for children in rural areas of Bolivia, there is cultural expectation that children should have a strong sense of responsibility and obligation to their family. This has contributed to that, providing an urban dynamic to this argument, showing that the responsibility that these urban children from this study feel, is part of that expectation.

We also saw from Chapters One and Two the dearth of empirical scholarly literature on children and childhood in general in Bolivia. This contributes to that, providing an urban focus, a focus on work, and a focus on rights and responsibilities as a lens to focus on work. Chapter One also showed how this thesis is part of a newer body of work that moves away from the negative reporting on and understanding of child labour, concentrating more on what we can learn about children's work more generally, both the positive and negative aspects that children consider.

This thesis has also brought together three concepts of rights and citizenship, which although share many key aspects and assumptions, have not previously to my knowledge been used together before in such a way. More specifically with regards to rights, it responds to Reynaert et al's (2012; 2009) and Quennerstedt's (2013) critique that children's rights research lacks critical engagement and contextualising research. This thesis does not just check the way or extent to which the UNCRC has been implemented, rather this research contributes a living rights understanding, one from the perspective of

working children which actually challenges children's rights as solely those codified or handed out from above. This thesis also addressed Arce's (2015) call for a move away from looking at children's participation (as has been inspired by the UNCRC) towards children's citizenship, by analysing working children's citizenship in this specific Bolivian context.

v. Final Remarks

v.i. Limitations of this research and implications for future research

As with any research there are always limitations with regards to the methods, the analysis or the research findings, which in turn could inspire further research.⁷⁰ One limitation of this thesis is the time frame that this research was conducted in and snapshot of a particular space and time it presents. While it is a positive that NNATs members were spoken to following their campaign and the promulgation of Law 548, a significant event has happened since: the withdrawal of parts of Law 548. Although this does not have a direct impact on the arguments and findings of this thesis, it suggests the need for further research. These withdrawals were in relation to the rules on children aged 10-14 working. As the Introduction to this thesis mentioned, this retraction was at the end of 2018. As this thesis was mostly written by the time of hearing about this (when articles appeared in summer 2019), there are only a few mentions of it. In terms of the main aims and arguments of this thesis, there are actually only slight implications. However, this withdrawal should inspire further inquiry into the involvement of children in such laws, the strained relationship between the Bolivian government and international organisations such as the ILO and the agenda that they push, and also justifies that it is important to consider, consult and understand children.

One limitation is around the temporal dimension of work. Children's work is not always permanent, it could be temporary. This is one area that was not examined and poses the question about what we can learn from this temporal dimension, especially in relation to those children who worked for themselves, to keep their own money. For example was this to save for something in particular? Would work have stopped once that goal was reached? Or those that contributed to family income, was this a temporary situation to alleviate a short term situation of poverty? The significance of this is that by attending

⁷⁰ This is not an exhaustive list, but rather some acknowledgement. I would welcome any more comments with regards to this.

to these questions or further exploration allows for a deeper understanding of the work that children do and why, which in turn allows for a more holistic understanding around the debates as to why children work.

Another limitation is the age group of this data set. I only researched with those 12 and above, and with fewer participants aged 16-18. The voices of the children in this research are thus early adolescents or teenagers, and less so what might be considered young adults. Considering a wider age group may have altered the findings, or allowed for further points of discussion. Certainly, the ages were skewed between the public and private school, whereby only 12, 13 and 14 year olds were researched due to limitations around access to the school. Researching the same ages from both schools may have allowed for more definitive comparisons between the responses from the students.

The way in which data was collected from questionnaire participants is also another limitation, in that only short responses were collected from them in written form. Although a significant number of children were consulted, individual interviews or focus groups would have provided an opportunity to look at their responses in depth, probe them and gain a deeper understanding around their responses.

Finally, although by no means lastly, is the urban focus of this research and the limitation for commenting on children in other geographical and thus working contexts. Although reference has been made to children in rural areas and indigenous/community work in these areas, there was no consultation directly with children from these areas, only with organisations who run projects and work with children in these areas. Addressing this limitation would allow for further exploration around the community/rural work discussion points.

v.ii Practical and policy considerations

There are also practical considerations, contributions and recommendations to be made from this thesis towards policy and practice. The practical recommendations that stem from this research are similar to those that also inspired it. Firstly, great care is needed by both scholars and policy makers when referring to the work that children do. Whilst the ILO has definitions based on age, activity type and intensity, these are hard to translate into understanding work through children's lived experience. The work

articulated by these children cannot easily be mapped into these definitions. In addition, I would question how easy are these definitions to understand by children and adolescents themselves? What would a framework of definitions devised by them look like?

Secondly, children should be (and have proven to be able to) included in law and policy making relating to their lives. This applies to policy affecting their work and other aspects of their lives. Perhaps other countries, and even the international organisations could do better to include children in such processes. Of course, how many and which children should be involved is a key issue. This is one final suggestion that I would like to make from this PhD towards policy and practice is with regards to children's participation in policy and practice. This does not mean that there should simply be more opportunities for children to be involved and listened to, but like those workers from the NNATs it would be to make sure that their voices are really listened to and valued.

v.iii Final remarks

Lastly, at the very beginning of this thesis, I presented several contentions in relation to child labour, which from this thesis, we can see data, analysis and discussion attending to each of these, albeit with potentially more questions raised. The first contention was what constitutes work and how do we define it? Should all work engaged in by children be considered child labour and thus harmful, or is at least some work meaningful and valuable? A conclusion is that this ultimately depends on who is defining it: is this from working children themselves, or international institutions that set global agendas, or a joint dialogue between these two groups. Is there also an agenda attached to these definitions and measurements? Second, who qualifies as a child and is this based on age, competency or societal expectations? This ultimately is dependent on different cultures, time and indeed children themselves and their own identity. Third, does work have a worthy place as part of childhoods and how do we define childhoods? Likewise, this is dependent on different ideological perspectives and worldviews. From some of the children and adolescents in this research, yes it does. Finally, as the introduction argued, the context of that work needs to be taken into consideration. Is work a cultural expectation or practice, or do economic pressures and situations of poverty force families to rely on children working? This thesis attests that is a combination of culture,

economics and politics. Situations of poverty are at play, as are societal expectations, as is the agency and wishes of children themselves.

Children will continue to work, both in Bolivia and across the world. Some of this work can be considered positive: by children themselves, their families, and rights focussed agencies such as the ILO and UNICEF. However, some of this work, unfortunately, is negative, and harms the physical and mental well-being of children and limits their rights granted in the UNCRC. While the agenda towards eradicating the worst and most harmful forms of child labour, perhaps there is space in that agenda to recognise some of the value that work has in children's lives.

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Appendices

1. Interview Questions
2. Interview List
3. Sentence Completion Questionnaire
4. Register of Student Participants

*The following were approved by the OU ethics committee. HREC reference number:
HREC 2016 2377 Willman*

5. Research information sheet(s)
6. Consent form(s)

1. Interview Questions⁷¹

(Introduction)

- a. Can you tell me a little about the work you do, the organisation...
- b. Does your organization work with alongside anyone else, nationally or internationally – state or otherwise?

(moving on...)

- a. What do you think of the term child labour, labour, work (*edit for Spanish translation*)? (Follow up) Do you think there are any connotations with different terms?
- b. What do you know about the debates on child labour in Bolivia? How do you feel about them?
 - How do you feel about the position of the UN and the ILO, that child labour is intolerable and should be eradicated?
 - Conversely, how do you feel about the position of the government lowering the legal working age?
- c. Do you think that long term child labour should be/can be eradicated?
- d. What do you think children's opinions are on work?
- e. What are (or what do you think are) children's opinions on the debates over the legalisation of work?
- f. Do children's opinions on work differentiate depending on context, for example employment type or family background?
- g. Do children's opinions on work differentiate from adults?
- h. How involved are children and young people in the shaping of laws around work? (*follow up*) How involved do you think they should be? (*if relevant*) How involved has your organisation been with them?
- i. (*if relevant*) How do you feel about the claims made by working children's unions, about the right to work? How do you feel about the claims made by the ILO?
- j. How do you feel about Law 548 – specifically the provisions around work?
 - How has it been received (*be specific about different groups depending on interviewee*) in the country?
 - How well has it been implemented?

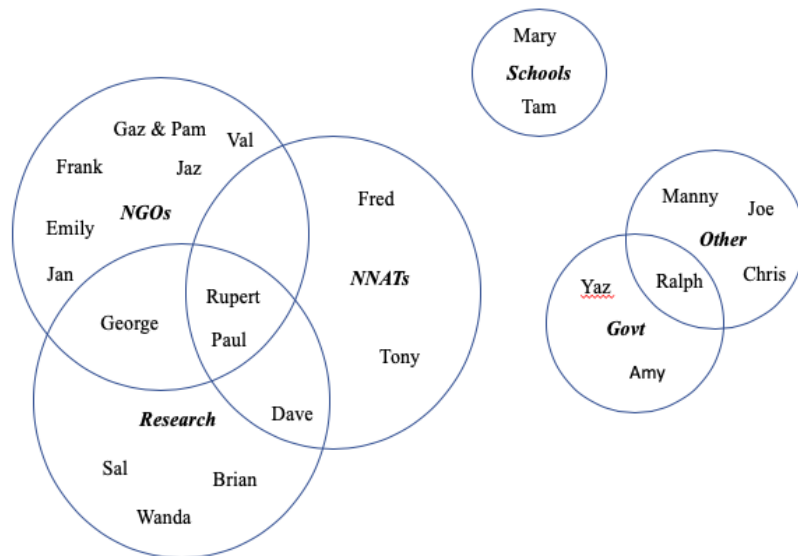
⁷¹ These were not necessarily followed strictly. As Chapter Three explained, they were semi structured interviews and the questions were designed to inspire conversation. Depending on the participant questions were altered slightly, or dependent on the conversation, probing questions were used.

- k. What does it mean to work as a child, as a young person in Bolivia? (*prompts*) Is it cultural? Is it more than that?
- How important is work to childhood/growing up in Bolivia?
 - Has this changed in the last 10 years under Morales and MAS?
- l. What do you see happening in the future with regard to the laws on children working?
- What do you want to see?
- m. Is there anything else you think I should ask, or anything else you would like to say?
- n. (*for snowballing*) Can you recommend anyone else I should speak to on this issue?

2. Interview List

Citation Code	Alias	Role and Institution	Sector (diagram p.103 & 225)	Duration	Date	Recording Archive
P1	Fernanda	Academic, Bolivian University	n.a.	n.a.	11/10/16	n.a.
P2	Diego	Advisor, Bolivian Government	n.a.	n.a.	19/10/16	n.a.
P3	Peter	Programme Officer, Bolivian NGO	n.a.	n.a.	4/11/16	n.a.
P4	Louise	Programme Officer, Bolivian NGO	n.a.	n.a.	4/11/16	n.a.
P5	Sal	Researcher, Bolivian NGO	n.a.	n.a.	5/11/16	n.a.
I1	Manu	Labour Economist, Development Bank	Other	41:35	27/1/17	170127_0006
I2	Rupert	Researcher, previously NGO director working with NNATs	Research, NNATs, NGO	59:10	8/2/17	170308_0018
I3	Sal	Researcher, Bolivian NGO	Research	56:59	15/2/17	170215_0007
I4	Brian	Researcher, Bolivian NGO	Research	47:40	15/2/17	170215_0009
I5	Frank	Policy Manager, International NGO	NGO	21:30	16/2/17	170216_0010
I6	Jaz	Head of Child Protection, International NGO	NGO	37:52	16/2/17	170216_0011
I7	Emily	Country Manager, International NGO	NGO	35:35	20/2/17	170220_0012
I8	Gaz and Pam	Research and Evaluation Coordinator and Protection and Rights Programme Advisor, International NGO	NGO	53:48	3/3/17	170303_0013
I9	Yaz	Child Labour Eradication Specialist, Ministry of Labour (Bolivian Govt)	Govt	23:38	7/3/17	170307_0014
I10	George	Director of Bolivian NGO (has also conducted independent research)	NGO, Research	35:25	9/3/17	170309_0019
I11	Dave	Former NNATs member, current independent researcher	NNATs, Research	33:43	21/3/17	170321_0020
I12	Val	Child Protection and Child Rights Governance, International NGO	NGO	34:21	27/3/17	170327_0021
I13	Ralph	Ex-Minister for Labour, Bolivian Government	Other, Govt	53:28	4/4/17	170404_0023

I14	Tony	UNATsBO Collaborator	NNATs	1:13:10	4/4/17	170404_0022
I15	Paul	UNATsBO Collaborator, former NGO Director	NGO, Govt, NNATs	1:21:08	5/4/17	170405_0025
I16	Jan	Director, Bolivian NGO	NGO	42:23	11/4/17	170411_0030
I17	Chris	Pastor and Community Leader, El Alto	Other	47:46	20/4/17	170420_0034
I18	Fred	Former NNATs member, current collaborator	NNATs	58:32	20/4/17	170420_0033
I19	Amy	Director of Childhood, Youth and Seniors, Ministry of Justice	Govt	46:35	22/4/17	170422_0039
I20	Wanda	Researcher, University/Bolivian NGO	Research	29:50	22/4/17	170422_0041
I21	Joe	Senior Programme Officer (Latin America), ILO	Other	1:10:15	04/7/17	ILO_Interview
C1	Mary	Teacher, School 'SC'	Schools	n.a	<i>Continuous</i>	n.a
C2	Tam	Teacher, School 'CS'	Schools	n.a	<i>Continuous</i>	n.a



2. Sentence Completion Task

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Do you work?		Yes		No	
I consider myself a:	Child	Young person	Adolescent	Adult	

1. I work as... /My work involves...
2. I work because...
3. I like to work because...
4. I do not like to work because...
5. Work, to me, means...
6. Work for children and adolescents is...
7. I think 'child labour' means...
8. Work for children and adolescents should be illegal because...
9. Work for children and adolescents should be legal because...
10. What do you think about the child labour laws?
11. As a Bolivian, what does it mean to work at your age?
12. How do you feel when children and adolescents younger than you work?
13. What does it mean to be a citizen at your age?
14. Do you think work and citizenship are related?

4. Student Register

<i>Name (Pseudonym)</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age Category</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age Category</i>	<i>Work</i>
Andy	SB1	15	Male	Joven	Yes	Alex	SB87	15	Male	Adolescente	No
Ana	SB2	14	Female	Joven	No	Siriam	SB88	15	Female	Joven	No
Juan	SB3	14	Male	Joven	No	Saldado	SB89	15	Male	Joven	No
Carlos	SB4	14	Male	Joven	No	Giovanny	SB90	14	Male	Joven	No
Delmi	SB5	15	Female	Joven	Yes	Ivan	SB91	14	Male	Joven	No
Luis	SB6	14	Male	Adolescente	No	John	SB92	15	Male	Adolescente	No
Pabol	SB7	13	Male	Joven	No	Raquel	SB93	15	Female	Adolescente	No
Alvarez	SB8	16	Male	Joven	Yes	Nataly	SB94	15	Female	Adolescente	No
Liz	SB9	13	Female	Joven	Yes	Oriana	SB95	14	Female	Adolescente	Yes
Brian	SB10	16	Male	Joven	Yes	Alvin	SB96	15	Male	Adolescente	No
Brandon	SB11	14	Male	Joven	Yes	Mamani	SB97	16	Male	Joven	Yes
Juan	SB12	13	Male	Joven	No	Brian	SB98	15	Male	Joven	Yes
Marco	SB13	13	Male	Joven	No	Mauricio	SB99	15	Male	Adolescente	No
Alan	SB14	14	Male	Joven	No	Ivan	SB100	14	Male	Joven	Yes
Joaquin	SB15	14	Male	Joven	Yes	Luis	SB101	15	Male	Joven	Yes
Willy	SB16	13	Male	Joven	No	Canaza	SB102	15	Male	Joven	Yes
Carlos	SB17	14	Male	Joven	No	Alvanza	SB103	16	Male	Adolescente	Yes
Rosario	SB18	15	Female	Joven	Yes	Zomcomi	SB104	15	Male	Joven	No
Quisbert	SB19	14	Male	Joven, Adolescente	Yes	Bryan	SB105	14	Male	Adolescente	No
Victor	SB20	16	Male	Joven	Yes	Nilbert	SB106	14	Male	Joven	No
Gerson	SB21	14	Male	Joven	No	Jimmy	SB107	14	Male	Joven	No
Roberto	SB22	15	Male	Joven	Yes	Denis	SB108	16	Male	Joven	Yes
Edwin	SB23	13	Male	Joven	No	Pedro	SB109	15	Male	Joven	No
Jheferson	SB24	13	Male	Joven	No	Jorge	SB110	14	Male		No

Juan	SB25	14	Male	Joven	No	Manuel	SB111	15	Male	Adolescente	No
Brian	SB26	16	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Kelya	SB112	15	Female	Adolescente	Yes
Wilson	SB27	16	Male		Yes	David	SB113	16	Male		No
Sergio	SB28	14	Male	Adolescente	No	Belen	CS1	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Maite	SB29	14	Female	Joven	Yes	Mauricio	CS2	13	Male	Joven	No
Giovani	SB30	15	Male	Joven	Yes	Damian	CS3	14	Male	Joven, Adolescente	No
x	SB31	x				Gabriel	CS4	13	Male	Adolescente	Yes
x	SB32	x		Joven	Yes	Thais	CS5	13	Female		No
Jose	SB33	15	Male	Joven	No	Ivan	CS6	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Milton	SB34	15	Male	Joven	No	Rafael	CS7	14	Male		No
Andrea	SB35	14	Female	Joven	No	Oscar	CS8	12	Male	Joven	No
Rodolfo	SB36	16	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Asbel	CS9	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Alexander	SB37	14	Male	Adolescente	No	Gladys	CS10	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Rodrigo	SB38	16	Male	Joven	Yes	Fernando	CS11	13	Female	Joven	No
Giancarlo	SB39	15	Male	Joven	Yes	Angela	CS12	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Micke	SB40	15	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Sergio	CS13	13	Male	Joven	No
Nia	SB41	15	Female	Joven	No	Diego	CS14	13	Male	Nin@	No
Raquel	SB42	16	Female	Joven, Adolescente	Yes	Bruno	CS15	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Daniela	SB43	15	Female	Joven, Adolescente	No	Valentina	CS16	13	Female	Nin@	No
Franco	SB44	14	Male	Joven	Yes	Natalie	CS17	13	Female	Joven	No
Jhazmin	SB45	14	Female	Adolescente	No	Sergio	CS18	13	Male	Adolescente	Yes
Karen	SB46	14	Female	Adolescente	No	Patrick	CS19	13	Male	Joven	No
Josue	SB47	15	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Andres	CS20	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Isaac	SB48	14	Male	Joven	No	Camila	CS21	14	Female	Adolescente	No
Mamani	SB49	15	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Valentina	CS22	13	Female	Adolescente	No

Gabriel	SB50	15	Male	Adolescente	No	Gabriela	CS23	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Percy	SB51	14	Male	Nin@, Adolescente	Yes	Rodrigo	CS24	13	Male		No
Alex	SB52	15	Male	Joven, Adolescente	No	Lucia	CS25	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Miguel	SB53	13	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Adriana	CS26	13	Female	Joven	No
Leonardo	SB54	13	Male	Joven, Adolescente	Yes	Alanis	CS27	13	Female	Joven	No
Cristian	SB55	14	Male	Joven	Yes	Cristian	CS28	13	Male	Joven	Yes
Marco	SB56	14	Male	Joven	Yes	Alejandra	CS29	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Yhomor	SB57	12	Male	Nin@, Joven	No	Miguel	CS30	13	Male	Joven	Yes
x	SB58	15		Joven	Yes	Fabio	CS31	14	Male	Adolescente	No
Santiago	SB59	13	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Andrea	CS32	14	Female	Adolescente	No
Clara	SB60	14	Female	Adolescente	No	Antonio	CS33	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Alan	SB61	14	Male	Joven	No	Rodrigo	CS34	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Mildred	SB62	13	Female	Adolescente	Yes	Sofia	CS35	13	Female		No
Luis	SB63	17	Male	Adolescente	No	Jose	CS36	14	Male	Adolescente	No
Ivan	SB64	17	Male	Joven, Adolescente	No	Tania	CS37	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Hugo	SB65	17	Male	Joven	No	Rosario	CS38	13	Female	Nin@	No
Titirico	SB66	17	Male	Adolescente	No	Camila	CS39	13	Female	Joven	No
Daniela	SB67	17	Female	Joven	No	Maria	CS40	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Yauran	SB68	16	Male	Joven	Yes	Maria	CS41	13	Female	Adolescente	Yes
Fernand	SB69	17	Male	Adolescente	No	Angela	CS42	13	Female	Nin@, Adolescente	No
Juan	SB70	17	Male	Adolescente	No	Sebastian	CS43	13	Male	Joven	No
Christian	SB71	17	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Salvador	CS44	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Bryan	SB72	17	Male	Adolescente	No	Gary	CS45	13	Male	Joven	No
Jhoel	SB73	17	Male	Adolescente	Yes	Alemay	CS46	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Ademar	SB74	16	Male	Adolescente	No	Jaoquin	CS47	12	Male	Joven	No
Mauricio	SB75	16	Male	Adolescente	No	Andrea	CS48	13	Female	Adolescente	No

Weimar	SB76	16	Male	Adolescente	No	Andres	CS49	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Arcangal	SB77	17	Male	Adolescente	No	Santiago	CS50	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Naomi	SB78	17	Female	Joven, Adolescente	No	Sergio	CS51	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Ramos	SB79	17	Male	Joven	No	Sebastian	CS52	13	Male		No
Kevin	SB80	17	Male	Joven	Yes	Emmanu el	CS53	13	Male		No
Ariel	SB81	16	Male	Joven	No	Julian	CS54	13	Male	Joven	No
Bismark	SB82	18	Male	Adolescente	No	Adriana	CS55	13	Male	Adolescente	No
Carlos	SB83	17	Male	Joven	No	Gustavo	CS56	13	Male	Nin@	No
Karen	SB84	16	Female	Joven	Yes	Mariana	CS57	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Micaela	SB85	16	Female	Adolescente	Yes	Mariel	CS58	13	Female	Adolescente	No
Leonardo	SB86	15	Male	Joven	No	Jose	CS59	13	Male	Adolescente	No
						Isabel	CS60	13	Female	Adolescente	No
						Juan	CS61	13	Male	Joven	No

X = left blank by the participant or unreadable

5. Research Information Sheets

These were given to participants prior to speaking with them. They were translated into Spanish.

5.1. Information leaflet for children

Information Leaflet for Research Project

Who and What am I?

My name is Chris and I am conducting some research for University. I am originally from the United Kingdom.

What am I doing?

I am investigating the work that children and young people do, and their views about work. You might see me working with _____ or spending time with _____

Why do I need you?

I would like you to be involved in my research by completing some tasks. You do not have to get involved if you do not want to. Even if you do, you can stop at any time. I won't tell anyone anything you say.

What are the tasks?

One task is a questionnaire, which involves answering questions on a piece of paper. Another task is a focus group, where we discuss our opinions together in a group. All will be explained to you in more detail if you choose to do them.

What next?

If you want to get involved, I will ask you to confirm that you are happy to by speaking to me or _____, as well as writing your name on a form.

What if I have a question?

If you have a question, great! Ask me, or ask _____. Even if you think of a question later on, please do not be afraid to ask. You can email me at christopher.willman@open.ac.uk, call/message _____.

Things to remember:

- Your data will be protected, which means the answers that you give will not be shown to anyone else. Any information I use in my writing, will not show your name.
- You do not have to take part if you do not want to.
- Any concerns you have Chris or _____ cannot deal with, please email h.yanacopulous@open.ac.uk.

Thanks for reading ☺

5.2. Information leaflet for interviewees

Research Study Information Leaflet

This information leaflet is for the attention of

Research study: Children's Contributions to Child Labour Debates in Bolivia

Research team: Chris Willman, christopher.willman@open.ac.uk

About the research: Child labour is a global issue, and the debate as to whether children should be involved in work is contentious. Bolivia provides an exceptional place to study working children and the debates that exist around child labour due to the numbers of children that work and the labour laws. Children's perspectives on work have largely been ignored in both academic and international policy debates. This research aims to analyse children's contributions to the child labour debates. The research question is: How do children's perspectives on work contribute to the debates over child labour in Bolivia?

The methods employed for the research will interviews and focus groups. The participants will include key informants and gate keepers from government departments and civil society, as well as children that do and do not work between the ages of 10 and 16.

1. My responsibilities to you:

- **I ensure your safety:** I can provide photographic identification.
- **I guard your privacy:** Your participation will be treated in strict confidence in accordance with the Data Protection Act (UK and any other relevant act in Bolivia). Your contribution will be used for research purposes only. Nobody will be individually identified in the final report.
- **I respect your wishes:** Participation in the study is voluntary and you are not obliged to answer any questions you do not wish to.
- **I answer your questions:** I will be happy to answer any questions you may have about the research.

2. What is the aim of this research?

- This research aims to analyse children's contributions to the child labour debates, by looking at their perspectives and actions.
- The justification for this research lies in the fact that children and young people's perspectives on work have largely been ignored in both academic and international policy debates.
- The research is part of a PhD project at The Open University.

3. What is involved?

- I am interested in finding out
 - How do children's perspectives on work contribute to the debates over child labour in Bolivia?
 - What are children and young people's views on work, and why do they hold these views?
 - How are these views organised and acted upon?
 - What do these contributions mean for notions of childhood and children as citizens?
- I will be collecting data between January-April 2017.
- The following methods are involved:
 - Interviews (Adults only)
 - Focus Groups (Young people only)
- The following methods will last for:
 - Interviews – 30 minutes to 1 hour

- Focus Groups (30 minutes to 2 hours)

4. What will you be asked?

- You have been selected for the following method (delete as appropriate)
 - Interviews (Adults only)
 - Focus Groups (Young people only)

5. Do you have to take part?

- **No.** I am relying on your voluntary co-operation. No one is taking part in this study who does not want to. Even if you say yes to begin with, you are free to withdraw at any time up to a specified date.

6. Is it confidential?

- Yes. Everything that you tell me will be in confidence. No personal information will be passed to anyone outside the research team. This includes staff from The Open University (and any other relevant association). I will write a thesis based on the data but no individual will be identifiable from the published results of the research.

7. What happens now?

- I will contact you again to ask for your consent to take part in the research and to arrange an appointment to come and see you. In the meantime, if you have any queries at all about the study, please contact me using the details below.

8. What if you have other questions?

- Please retain this leaflet
- If you have any other questions, I would be happy to answer them. Please contact:
 - **Chris Willman**
 - christopher.willman@open.ac.uk
 - **Number:**
- If you have a query or concern about the research and do not wish to speak to myself, please contact my principal supervisor:
 - Helen Yanacopulous
 - h.yanacopulous@open.ac.uk

6. Consent Forms

These were given to participants prior to consent to the research. They were translated into Spanish.

6.1. Consent form for interview participants

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS)

Consent form for persons participating in a research project

Children's Contributions to Child Labour Debates in Bolivia

Name of participant: _____

Name of principal investigator(s): Chris Willman _____

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written statement in plain language to keep.
2. I understand that my participation will involve Interview/Focus Group and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.
3. I acknowledge that:
 - a. the possible effects of participating in this research have been explained to my satisfaction;
 - b. I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project without explanation or prejudice and to request the destruction of any data that have been gathered from me until it is anonymized at the point of transcription point on 1/5/17, After this point data will have been processed and it will not be possible to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;
 - c. the project is for the purpose of research;
 - d. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
 - e. I have been informed that with my consent the data generated will be stored electronically and will be destroyed after five years;
 - f. If necessary any data from me will be referred to by a pseudonym in any publications arising from the research;
 - g. I have been informed that a summary copy of the research findings will be forwarded to me, should I request this.

I consent to this Interview being audio-taped ☐ yes ☐ no

I wish to receive a copy of the summary project report on research findings ☐ yes ☐ no

Participant signature: _____

Date: _____

6.2. Consent form for students

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS)

Children's Contributions to Child Labour Debates in Bolivia

Consent Form

Please circle the answers you agree with below:
(Parent/guardian to complete if the child is unable)

Have you read (or had read to you) information about this project?	Yes/No
Has somebody else explained this project to you?	Yes/No
Do you understand what this project is about?	Yes/No
Have you asked all the questions you want?	Yes/No
Have you had your questions answered in a way you understand?	Yes/No
Do you understand it's OK to stop taking part at any time?	Yes/No
Are you happy to take part?	Yes/No

If any answers are 'no' you can ask more questions.
But if you **do not** want to take part, **do not** sign your name!

If you do want to take part, please write your name and today's date.

Your name _____

Date _____

The researcher who explained this project to you needs to sign too:

Print Name _____

Sign _____

Date _____

Thank you for your help.

6.3. Opt-out form for parents of students

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Children's Contributions to Child Labour Debates in Bolivia

Opt-out Form for Research Involving Children

Your child recently completed a questionnaire in school for my research project. Attached to this form is an information sheet on the research. As a parent/guardian you are making a decision whether or not to have your child's questionnaire included in this study about 'Children's Contributions to Child Labour Debates in Bolivia'.

Your child was happy to partake in the study and gave their written consent. If you however are unhappy for their responses to be included in the study, please sign this form.

You will receive a copy of this consent document. Please feel free to contact me with any queries using the details on the information sheet.

Thank you for reading.

Chris Willman

Signature Of Parent
or Legally Authorized Representative

Date
